

SEVENTEENTH

ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,

JANUARY 24, 1849.

WITH AN APPENDIX.



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REPORT.

A YEAR of marvels has intervened since we last stood before you to render an account of our stewardship. Events, new and startling, from their immediate results and from their remoter consequences, have hurried across the scene with a rapidity that has almost set History at nought. The whole fabric of society in the Old World has been shaken by the earthquake of revolution, and it is yet doubtful which of its elements will remain and which will lie shattered in hopeless ruin. The events which have thus shaken the Eastern Continent with their tread have made themselves felt even in the Western Hemisphere. These are not days when limits can be set to the reach of opinions, or the tide of ideas stayed by men or by institutions. The impulse which the mind of the civilized world has received and obeyed within the last twelve months in the direction of freedom, has not been unfelt or unheeded here. The tyrants of the Old World are not the only ones that have felt the instinct of their coming fate. Developments, new and unexpected, have changed the posture of affairs at home ; and though the millions of American slaves are still in their chains, and their oppressors inspired with a more furious fanaticism than ever for the maintenance of their wrong supremacy, still it is a fanaticism which springs from fear, and is ominous of their coming doom. The complexity of materials with which we are yearly more and more oppressed, must compel a more cursory and perfunctory performance of the abridgment of the Anti-Slavery history of the past year, which is one of the duties you require at the hands of

your Board of Managers, than even those we have laid before you at former anniversaries. Craving your patience and indulgence, we will address ourselves to the task of describing the present position of the Anti-Slavery cause, and of our relations and duties in regard to it.

CONGRESS.

The history of the last session of Congress was full of instructive teachings. The presence of Slavery was seen and felt at every turn. It thrust itself into almost every debate; it compelled observation as it had never done before; the only public action that excited any public attention and interest, touched it and its accidents almost solely; the bravest words of Liberty and the most insolent vaporings of Slavery that have yet been uttered there, were then reverberated through the nation from the dome of the Capitol. Congress was made more than ever before, the Microcosm which represented the great American World. The spirit of the South was never more desperate or more wily, and it was met by an antagonist spirit from the North, such as has never yet opposed itself to its insolence and its aggressions. Never before was the truth that the politicians at Washington are moulded by the hands, and inspired by the breath of those that sent them thither, so clearly seen. For not only the few generous spirits who have always shown themselves ready to breast the waves of pro-slavery public sentiment, which threatened, at times, to devour them up, but many others who have shown no sympathy with their hostile attitude towards Slavery, have been obliged, reluctantly, to follow in their footsteps, through the pressure of the public feeling at home. Insufficient for the great deliverance of this country and age as is the Northern feeling against Slavery, and imperfect as are the results it has caused, we still accept the one and the other as auguries of better things to come.

The complexion of our public action at the seat of Government varied materially with the changing circumstances which environed it. The success of the national arms in our foray into Mexico, and the expectation, soon converted into certainty by the conditions of the extorted treaty, that broad lands lying nearer the sun than any we now possess, would be the spoils of

our victory, gave tone to the thought and the expression of the National Legislature. These domains became the battle-ground of the two antagonistic principles of the nation, each striving for the mastery of them. Congress was made, as it were, an arena of national debate upon Slavery. The arguments of the Abolitionists which had been scouted and mobbed in days not long past, in the cities and villages of the Free States, were urged and enforced with great force and clearness by eminent members of Congress, in the face of the nation and in the midst of Slavery itself. Mr. Giddings, Mr. Palfrey, Mr. Tuck, Mr. Mann, and other gentlemen, have made distinct and emphatic utterances on the subject of Slavery, showing that the strength of the Abolitionists has not been spent in vain, and that their voices have at last found an echo in the high places of the land.

Many occasions arose for testing the varying spirit of the Houses. A motion by Mr. Wilmot, to raise a direct tax of five millions annually, for the extinguishment of the Mexican War debt, was voted down by 143 to 44—the Slaveholders going almost in a body against a measure which would oblige them to pay taxes on their Slaves towards the public burdens. Two applications for compensation for Slaves—one of a master, for a Slave who placed himself under the protection of the British flag during the War of 1812, and which was successful; and the other of a claimant of a Slave, who took sanctuary among the Seminoles, while hired by the United States as a guide to their troops, which is still before Congress;—these have both given rise to remonstrance and agitation, extending far beyond the walls of Congress. Mr. Putnam, of New York, proposed anew the substance of the Wilmot Proviso, excluding Slavery from all lands to be acquired from Mexico, and it was laid upon the table by a vote of 105 to 92! Mr. Hall, of New York, proposed the introduction of a bill forbidding the use of the courts or gaols of the District, for the return or detention of fugitive Slaves. It need hardly be said that it came to nought. Mr. Palfrey moved, for an inquiry into threats which had been held out to members of Congress of Lynch Law if they continued their Anti-Slavery agitation, which gave Mr. Giddings an opportunity of making one of the most powerful and faithful Anti-Slavery speeches ever delivered in Congress. Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, on the other hand, introduced a bill into the Senate, for the pro-

fection of the South against the Abolitionists, by which he erected every post-master and exciseman into a Court of Record, with authority to examine into claims to Slaves, and to issue warrants to the U. S. Marshals for the arrest of fugitives, and certificates to the claimants for their safe conduct back to Slavery, and imposing heavy penalties on all accessory to the crime of stolen liberty. This, indeed, did not become a law, but it helped, in common with the other attempts just recited, to keep the facts of Slavery before the eyes of the people, and to excite a sense of its universal bearings and national character.

But the topic which occupied the chief of the attention of Congress and of the nation, during the last session, was the character of the Territorial Governments to be extended to Oregon, California, and New Mexico. In the course of this discussion, new views of political rights and duties were broached. It had always been supposed that Congress had the absolute law-making power over the Territories, in the last resort. But when the interests or the credit of Slavery became complicated in the question, new lights of Constitutional and natural law dawned upon the world. It was first discovered that the people of the Territories alone could have power over a matter singly affecting themselves, and that Congress had no right to forbid the establishment of any institution they chose to adopt. But when symptoms, which could not be mistaken, were discerned, which showed that the people of Oregon were determined not to cast in their lot with the Slaveholders, a yet higher revelation was vouchsafed. It was discovered that not only Congress, but the Territorial inhabitants themselves had no voice in the matter! The Territories belonging, so it was argued, to all the inhabitants of the United States, any citizen had the right to carry thither his property, of any kind, and enjoy the same unmolested, and with none to make him afraid! The first of these positions was accepted by Mr. Cass, and the second by Mr. Woodbury, in their competition as bidders for the Democratic nomination. Thus confounding private property and State institutions, and claiming for the Slaveholders the privilege of carrying with them their State institutions; and thus virtually forbidding the inhabitants of the Free States from carrying with them their antagonist and incompatible institutions!

The question first coming up on the bill for establishing the Territorial Government of Oregon, and motions, pro and con, being made on the permission or the exclusion of Slavery, Mr. Calhoun distinguished himself by a speech of singular clearness and courage. He boldly denied the fundamental axiom of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created free and equal, and denounced it as "a dangerous error," from which the Anti-Slavery excitement had sprung, "which threatens to engulf our political institutions, and involve the country in countless woes!" He embodied the extreme Slaveholding doctrine in compact and concise statements, which made more clear than ever the irreconcilable antagonism of Slavery and Liberty, and the natural impossibility of the one existing in its completeness in a nation that tolerates the other. His speech had the rare merit, for an American speech, of straightforwardness and directness. Mr. Calhoun, indeed, is the very incarnation of the Slaveholding idea. He stands for an idea as no other statesman at Washington does. Even the best of his antagonists there represent but the fraction of an idea. An idea circumscribed by constitutions and compromises. He will leave his stamp upon his age as no other public man of his day will do. It will be a "bad eminence," indeed, that history will assign him, but it will be a conspicuous and an enduring one.

At last, an attempt was made in the Senate, to put this perplexing question at rest, by referring its settlement to a mixed committee, equally divided between the Free and the Slave States. The Slaveholding cunning, however, contrived that the equality should be confined to the numerical composition of the committee. Four of the strongest Slaveholders, with Mr. Calhoun at their head, were matched against four of the feeblest of the Northern men. By this committee a compromise was concocted, the character of which may be understood from its being satisfactory to the South. By its terms, Oregon was vouchsafed a government, with legislative powers which might be applied to the prohibition of Slavery,—unless negatived by the revising power of Congress. The legislative functionaries of New Mexico and California, however, were expressly forbidden to meddle with the matter of Slavery, at all. Thus the inhabitants of Oregon, a country whose physical character rendered the introduction of Slave labor an impossibility, were to be

allowed, if they pleased, to prohibit it; while the legislative authorities of the new Southern territory, for which the war with Mexico had been waged and fought, on account of the supposed adaptation of their lands for Slave culture, were forbidden to interfere with their settlement by Slaveholders, until they had acquired the control of the population and the government. And this was offered as a great sacrifice by the South to appease the fury of Northern fanaticism.

When this magnificent concession came up for action in the Senate, Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, moved the Wilmot Proviso as an amendment. It was rejected by a vote of 33 to 21. The Compromise Bill then passed the Senate by a vote of 33 to 22. In the House, however, it was virtually rejected, a motion to lay it on the table being carried by a vote of 112 to 97. Contemporaneously with this action on the general principle of Slavery in the Territories, a bill for establishing the Territorial Government of Oregon, was before the House. It gave rise to much animated and excited discussion. A motion made by Mr. Palfrey, to strike out the word "white" from the qualifications of voters, gave rise to a brisk debate, but was, of course, negatived. The bill, embodying in its provisions the Wilmot Proviso, prohibiting the establishment of Slavery even after its erection into a State, was passed by the House, August 2nd, by a vote of 129 to 71. A previous motion to strike out the prohibitory clause, was voted down, 114 to 88. Upon this bill reaching the Senate, it created an intense excitement among the Slaveholding party. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Butler rallied the hosts of Slavery, and mourned over the indignities offered to the South. An insidious amendment applying the Ordinance of 1787, to Oregon, inasmuch as it lies to the North of the line of the Missouri Compromise, was insidiously proposed for the sake of excluding the inferential prohibition of Slavery in territories lying South of that line. This was resisted in the Senate by Mr. Webster, Mr. Hale, and others, and its treacherous purpose fully exposed. Nevertheless, it passed in the shape of a resolution extending the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific Ocean, by a vote of 33 to 21. This, of course, would have established Slavery as a National Institution, South of 36° 30', as effectually as was Freedom in the Northwestern Territory, by the Ordinance of 1787.

Upon the amended bill returning to the House, the amendment was rejected by a vote of 121 to 82,—all the Northern members but four* voting against it, and all the Southern members but one (Mr. Houston, of Delaware,) voting in its favor. The reappearance of the bill with their amendment non-concurred, aroused anew the fire and fury of the Southern Senators. There was defection, however, in their ranks, sufficient to defeat their purpose, for this time. Mr. Benton, of Missouri, moved that the Senate recede from its amendment, and treated the threats of disunion of the Calhoun party, with supreme and cutting contempt. On the yeas and nays being taken, it appeared that the motion to recede was carried by a vote of 29 to 23,—Messrs. Benton, Houston, of Texas, and Sprague, of Delaware, voting for it. The bill thus unexpectedly carried, was signed by President Polk, who accompanied his signature with a message, saying that he did so only in consideration of the territory lying far to the North of 36° 30'. "*Had it,"* he said, "*embraced territories South of that Compromise, the question presented for my consideration, would have been of a far different character, and my action upon it, must have corresponded with my convictions!*"

It cannot be denied that this, the First Victory of the North over the South was the consequence of the growing Anti-Slavery sentiment at the North, and to the demonstrations which the Presidential obliquities of the two parties had called forth. For the first time, in our history, has the North arrayed itself in so unbroken a line against the South, on a point involving the interests of Slavery. For the first time, since we were a nation, was Slavery disappointed of a purpose she had at heart, and which she was determined to carry through. She has sometimes waited for a season, while the pear was ripening, but it has always been of her own mere notion, and with her own free consent. Whatever she has wished for she has had, and at the moment she was ready for it. She has met with her first reverse. The charm of unbroken success is at an end. Her vassals have made a stand against her aggressions. They are learning that the advantage is on their side, if they know

* Messrs. A. Birdsall, of New York, R. Brodhead, C. Brown, and C. J. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania.

how to use it. Like the oppressed everywhere, they are the Many, and woe to the Few, when the imaginary bonds which have held them in obedience are discovered to be merely air. The maxim of her rule, "Divide and Conquer," failed her for once. The threatening aspect of affairs on the Northern frontier has deprived her of her usual tools, as soon as they saw reason to apprehend that their interests and hers had ceased to be identical. And so they have, by union, given her her first repulse.

And it is surely time that Freedom should take her turn in the direction of affairs. The history of the country is one connected succession of Slavholding triumphs. First, Kentucky split off from Virginia; then, Louisiana purchased and admitted; then, the war of 1812; then, the Tariff; then, the Missouri Compromise; then, Nullification and the Tariff Compromise; then, the Florida War; then, the Annexation of Texas; and last of all, the War with Mexico, and the conquest of New Mexico and the Californias. And, as instruments and consequences of these victories, the appointment of almost every President and important Executive, Judicial, Diplomatic or Military officer. They have had the victory and the spoils of victory for sixty years, and the sluggish North is but beginning to open its stupid eyes to the fact. It is certainly encouraging to know that its eyes were not sealed in a judicial blindness, but that there was a reach of audacity which could pour twilight, at least, upon them. That, though it had been laboring mute as a camel under the heaviest load that Slavery could bind upon its back, for years, a weight, could be at last found of which it would be impatient.

We have always thought, and said, that the only hope of the North lay in the very insolence of the encroachments of Slavery. This history proves it. Having submitted patiently to the extension of the domain, and, consequently, the duration, of Slavery, over millions of square miles and years unknown, and waged two bloody wars in its quarrel, the North at last recalcitrates against the putting of the new territory to the uses for which it was acquired. No resistance was made to the acquisition of Mexican territory by conquest, though its acquisition for any purpose was as gross an outrage as could well be perpetrated, if the tattered parchment of the Constitution had any

virtue in it; but after it had been won at a great cost of blood and treasure, then suddenly we awake to the consequences of our own act, and refuse to permit it to be occupied for the purposes for which it had been won! It is hopeful to see that these latent sparks of vital heat exist, for they may yet be kindled into a consuming fire. But it is the perpetual watchings and the unwearied importunity of the Abolitionists for the last eighteen years that are to be thanked for keeping them alive. Their unwelcome message has forced its way into the unwilling ears of the people, and compelled them to see where they are and whither they are going.

And, after all, the North deserves no credit for what it has done, any more than pity for what it has suffered. It has, all along, been willing to sacrifice the Slave to its own imagined advantage, and then made a great merit of it, as if it had been sacrificing itself all the while! It has been willing to purchase the delusive benefits of a deceptive Union at the successive cost of these concessions of its own true interest and the interests of humanity. And even the best of those who are aroused to a spirit of resistance to the encroachments of Slavery are still willing to guarantee to it all the comfort and protection which the Constitution extends to it. And, now, it is because the North sees that the cry of the South is that of the leech's daughter, "give, give," and that there is no end to its cupidity and its demands, but that an extent of territory is to be extorted for the purposes of Slavery, sufficient to place the sceptre forever in her gripe, it is therefore that the North is tardily and imperfectly arousing its energies to resistance. If it had not had its vitality developed by the state into which its guilty selfishness and indifference to the wrongs of the Slave had brought it, it would have been indeed plunged in the sleep of death. And the first restless tossing of the giant under his mountain-load of indignities and oppressions, is enough to startle into stillness, for the time being, the onward march of tyranny. What might it not have done had its heart been always right, as its hand has been ever strong! How would Slavery have vanished away before its face like a guilty dream!

The present session of Congress has not been without its witnesses to the presence of Slavery in all our National Affairs, and to the change which has come over the spirit of Northern

legislators. A petition, emanating from a Convention of the inhabitants of New Mexico, praying for a Territorial Government, with exclusion of Slavery, presented by Mr. Benton, has been denounced by Mr. Calhoun as "insolent and disrespectful!" Mr. Palfrey, in the House, asked leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of all Acts of Congress establishing and maintaining Slavery in the District of Columbia. The leave to introduce was refused, indeed, but by only a majority of 13 (82 nays to 69 yeas). Mr. Root, of Ohio, offered a resolution requiring the Committee on Territories to report bills organizing Governments for California and New Mexico, and excluding Slavery therefrom. It was forthwith moved to lay this resolution on the table. This was *rejected*, by 107 nays to 80 yeas. The resolution was then adopted by the same vote. A motion to reconsider was laid on the table by a vote of 107 to 82. So that, if the Committee obey its instructions, we shall soon see the battle renewed on its merits. Mr. Giddings asked leave to introduce a bill authorizing the people of the District to express their desire as to the continuance of Slavery therein. A motion to lay this motion upon the table was carried, by 106 to 70, after a short debate, in which Mr. Giddings maintained the equal rights of blacks as well as of whites to vote on this and all other political occasions, elicited by a Slaveholding interrogatory. Mr. Palfrey has given notice of a bill for securing to all American freemen, deprived of personal liberty, the protection of a trial by jury. And last in this list of blows aimed at Slavery, or some of its adjuncts, came the resolution moved by Mr. Gott, of New York, instructing the Committee on the District forthwith to bring in a bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia. A motion to lay it on the table, instantaneously made, was lost, 85 to 83, and the previous question carried for the purpose, on the part of some, to cut off debate, and of others to come at once to the main question. The main question being put, it was found to be carried by a vote of 98 to 87! Great excitement followed. Mr. Holmes of South Carolina proposed a secession of Southern members, himself setting the example, and was laughed at for his pains. Later in the same day Mr. Flournoy, of Virginia, moved that the Committee on the District be instructed to inquire into the expediency of ceding back again to Maryland,

all the District, excepting that portion covered by the public buildings. And this motion was sustained by a large majority. We have no time or space to speculate upon whereto these things may grow. But they are signs of a state of things at the North more hopeful than those of former years, and afford encouragement to continued and increased Anti-Slavery Agitation. The history of the farther doings of this session will come within the scope of our next Report.

DEATH OF MR. ADAMS.

The last session of Congress was also made memorable by the death of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, which occurred under circumstances which if mournful, cannot but be regarded as fit and fortunate. After a life of more than fourscore years, and more than half a century of public service, he fell at last at his post in the Capitol, on the 21st of February, and expired within its walls on the evening of the 23d. This is no occasion to recite anew the history or the eulogy of Mr. Adams's public life. His virtues and his errors now belong to history and to posterity, which will not fail to pronounce a just judgment upon them. It is enough to say that brilliant as may have been his long career as a Diplomatist, as Prime Minister to Mr. Monroe, or as President of the United States, his enduring and distinctive fame will rest upon the labors of his later years, in the representative branch of the National Legislature, in behalf of Northern rights assailed by Slaveholding aggression. This has connected his memory with the history of the great struggle for human rights, which, after all, is the only history that makes a permanent and extensive impression on the mind of dispassionate posterity. For his manly defence of the Right of Petition he deserves high honor and perpetual remembrance. Though he did not accept, at least until near his death, the doctrine that Slavery should be swept from the National Domain at Washington, as a National disgrace, by the Nation's hand, still he led the forlorn hope which carried the entrenchments thrown up for the defence of that Slavery against the hands of its assailants, and helped to make this work of his successors possible and comparatively easy. The state of things in which we now rejoice, by which the question of Slavery has become the chief, almost

the only engrossing, topic of public and private discussion, is largely owing to the resolute and unwearied pioneering of Mr. Adams. He had a true hatred of Slavery, which grew stronger and stronger as his life declined. Had he survived yet longer, we believe that his last days would have been signalized by more direct attacks upon Slavery than those which had distinguished his past career. His death called forth almost unanimous demonstrations of respect and sorrow from almost every portion of the country. Even they who had threatened him with expulsion, if not with assassination, for his stand against the encroachments of the Slave Power, at last assumed a sorrow, if they had it not, over the hearse of the Nestor who had seen three generations of public men, whose memory extended back to the heroic age of our history, and whose public life was nearly contemporaneous with our National existence. But his loss was the most deeply felt, as his memory will be the most sacredly cherished, by those who saw in him the Embodiment of the old spirit of Liberty, the Champion of human rights in the warfare waged against them by Slavery.

THE WHIG AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

The political game of the last year has been complicated by the occurrence of the Quadrennial Election. The chief end of American Politics being the manufacture of Presidents, all other matters of public interest shrink into nothingness as each of our Olympiads draws towards its close. At the beginning of the Presidential campaign the Democratic Party seemed to be established as Lords of the Ascendent. They had waged the Mexican War and fought it to the end it aimed at. The patronage of the Government was in their hands. They had all the usual advantages possessed by a dominant party for influencing an impending election. It seemed as if the choice of the Candidate of the Party by the Convention at Baltimore would be equivalent to a choice by the People at the Polls. Every effort was accordingly put forth by the prominent candidates to secure the nomination which was sure to be registered and confirmed by the Electoral Colleges. These efforts were, as usual, mainly directed towards the conciliation of the South. General Cass, Judge Woodbury, General Worth, Mr. Buchanan,

and all who entertained a dream of that exaltation, were prompt in the performance of their homage and the assurance of their allegiance. When the Convention met in May, after several ballotings General Cass received the requisite two-thirds, the established rule of the party of the largest liberty, by which the voice of the Slavoholding minority is made potential and supreme. He was, accordingly, proclaimed as the chosen of the ruling party, and his election, as well as his calling, was accounted sure.

And so it would have been, had not the Democratic Party itself, put an instrument into the hands of their enemies to chastise themselves withal. They had taught "bloody instructions" for their own purposes,

"——— which being taught, returned
To plague the inventors."

The Mexican War which the Democratic Party had counted upon as its *cheval de bataille*, the war-horse which was to bear it on to victory, grew restive and unmanageable, and threw it disgracefully in the mire. The leaders had conjured up spirits which they could not conjure down again, and the result was their defeat and confusion. The relations of the two great parties towards the Mexican War became oddly assorted. The Whigs who had denounced the War in advance, and as it proceeded, as a piratical and murderous foray into Mexico for the base purposes of Slavery, but who had taken especial pains to keep on good terms with it by doing all things needful and necessary to aid and comfort it, found themselves obliged to accept one of its creatures for their Leader. A change in the game was demanded. The Democrats had ruled long enough by the grace of Slavery. It was time for the Whigs to lay claim to their share of its smiles and blessings. Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, not to mention Judge McLean and Mr. Corwin, were obviously unavailables. A new candidate must be found, or Whig supremacy deferred till the Greek Kalends. One fortunately offered himself, who united the usually incompatible qualifications of personal notoriety and entire absence or concealment of political principles. General Taylor had passed his life in the camp, and professed to have no practical acquaintance with civil affairs. His name was a new one, having

been unknown beyond the narrowest circle of his personal and professional acquaintances, until his movement upon the Mexican territory in 1846. But he was a successful and popular General, a large Slaveholder and, what was better, a sugar planting one, which identified his personal interests with the policy of Protection, and what could "the Anti-Slavery Party" of the country ask for more? The black swan of a Tariff-loving Slaveholder, who would thus mingle the hostile drops of Northern and Southern interests into one, was found, and he was hailed as a bird of good omen to the thirsting Whigs.

General Taylor, himself, indeed, knew how to play his game with an adroitness which would have done honor to one hackneyed in the hells of politics. He did not desire the office, — not he! But if the people chose to place him in it, against his wishes, it must be as the President of the People, and not of a Party. He must be untrammelled by pledges, and must conduct the Government as he thought best. He professed his willingness to accept the nomination of any and all parties, and it was distinctly understood that he would run whether nominated or not by either of the great factions. Even after the nomination at Philadelphia, he gratefully accepted one from a Democratic meeting at Charleston, S. C., with the name of the Democratic candidate for Vice President, substituted for the Whig nominee. But with all his declarations against committing himself to any system of party measures, two great facts stood out before the world. The one, that he was a Slaveholder, which was security to the South that he was to be trusted on the Slavery question; and the other, that he was a sugar planter, which assured the North that he must be favorable to the policy of Protection. With these advantages he came into the Convention of June, at Philadelphia. His party were bent and resolute to carry their point, and never wavered in their purpose. The friends of other candidates, after three unsuccessful ballotings, abandoned them in sufficient number to secure his nomination on the fourth. The scene at the Convention was disorderly and riotous in the highest degree. It refused to lay down any platform of principles. It voted down a resolution offered by Mr. Tilden, of Ohio, affirming the right of Congress to abolish Slavery in the Territories, and to forbid its extension into the new ones. All, however, might have gone

off with apparent and external satisfaction, had not Mr. Allen and Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, expressed their emphatic sense of the political trick that had been played upon the Whigs of the North. Mr. Allen declared the Whig party dissolved, and Mr. Wilson avowed his intention of doing all he could to defeat the election of Taylor. This rebellion in the camp, excited a storm of obloquy upon the heads of the withdrawing Abdiels; but it prevented the farce of a fictitious unanimity, and was a symptom that there did yet survive some spirit in the ranks, if not among the leaders, of the Whig Party.

This contumacy on the part of these members of the Massachusetts Delegation, and the adherence of the whole of them, (with the exception of Mr. George Lunt, whose fantastic Pro-Slavery tricks, in the Senate of Massachusetts in 1836, are fresh in all Anti-Slavery memories.) to the name of Daniel Webster, lost her the glory of furnishing the Vice President for the ensuing term. But Massachusetts submitted with singular patience to this affliction, and it is not believed that the circumstance lost General Taylor a single vote.

At the time of the adjournment of the Philadelphia Convention, when the two Parties had thus placed their champions in the lists, they entertained little doubt that the disaffected of their numbers would fall back again, after a few murmurings, and the contest be settled, as on former occasions, by the award of the South in favor of him that should prove most worthy of her smile. Of the circumstances which complicated and perplexed these calculations, and of the effect they had upon the result, we shall presently speak. The election was one of the most excited and exciting that has ever occurred. The balance hung so dubiously in many of the States, that the result was uncertain to the last, in a degree seldom before known. Although General Taylor was at last chosen by a large majority of the Electoral votes, still those Electors were chosen by an absolute minority of the voters! So cunningly is our frame of government contrived for placing the majority at the disposal of the minority! It was the confidence of the South in the fidelity of General Taylor to Slavery—a confidence resting upon his personal interests and position,—that obtained for him, first, the nomination, and then the victory. Whether the North will find her share of expectation fulfilled, remains yet to be seen.

The Democrats are waiting patiently to see whether the Whig candidate will not answer a very good Democratic purpose. The attempts which will be made, during this session of Congress to put the Slavery-extension question at rest, by some compromise which will save General Taylor the responsibility of action upon it, can hardly be successful. Without pretending to a prophetic character we shall risk little in affirming that the next Administration will be all that the Slave Power can wish. And we cannot but hope that the North will again find itself deceived and betrayed, and a new proof be afforded that there can be no UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

THE FREE SOIL PARTY.

In the report which we had the honor to lay before you last year, speaking of the political signs of the times, and particularly in New York, we said "A Northern Party is unquestionably at hand. Like the sects of Jerusalem, the jarring parties at the North will yet unite and present a formidable front to the common enemy. There is Anti-Slavery spirit enough in the Free States to create a formidable, if not a predominant party. All that is needed is men of personal integrity and moral courage to take the lead. We think the emergency will soon arise, if it have not arisen already, to call them forth." The events of the past year have shown that, in thus speaking, we did not prophesy vain things. The occasion has offered itself, it was seized, and the nucleus of the great Northern Party, yet to be, is gathered to a point.

The elements of political disaffection, the union of which grew into the Free Soil Party, had manifested themselves in various ways, and for a long time past. Especially in New York, the bad faith that had been shown to her favorite son by the Convention that nominated Mr. Polk, had prepared many of the Democratic party there for a display of resistance to the Power which has always ruled that party, whenever a fitting occasion should arise. Of this we spoke last year when describing the Conventions at Utica and Herkimer. The nomination of General Cass, and the virtual exclusion of the Barnburner delegates, by the Baltimore Convention, caused the first hostile demonstration. This took a tangible shape at a Con-

vention called at Utica in June, which denounced the nomination of Cass, and took firm and decided ground in favor of Free Territory. It also nominated Martin Van Buren for the Presidency. This Convention was composed of many of the most prominent Democrats of New York and struck no small consternation into the hearts of the Party throughout the country.

Immediately after the Philadelphia Convention the Whig discontents began to make themselves manifest. A Convention of all dissentients from the two nominations was invited to meet at Buffalo in August. A Convention was called by the Conscience Whigs of Massachusetts, to meet at Worcester, on the 28th of June. Similar movements took place in other States. The Convention at Worcester was one of the largest ever held in the State, and characterized by a resolute purpose and a strong enthusiasm. Mr. Giddings of Ohio, who attended and gave added interest to it, subsequently spoke in Boston and other places with great effect. In August, the National Mass Convention met at Buffalo, and was one of the most remarkable political meetings on record. Vast multitudes from all parts of the Union, of all the political parties, came together and seemed to be melted into one by their zeal against the aggressions of Slavery. Though they looked only to the restraint of Slavery within the bounds which they, themselves, or their fathers for them, had erected for its protection, still the opposition sprang from a deep and strong Anti-Slavery sentiment. Though it was far from being the full harvest of the many years sowing of the Abolitionists, it was the happy springing of the green blade and the forming ear, which can hardly fail to grow up unto a full fruition. The nomination of Martin Van Buren and of Charles Francis Adams was made with great unanimity and enthusiasm by a body made up of original elements of the most extreme contrariety.

The nomination of Mr. Van Buren afforded a convenient loop-hole for the escape of those Whigs who began to find their consciences heavier than they could bear in the heat and burden of the day to which they were called. We have no particular faith in the political honesty of those politicians who professed to be strongly impressed with the importance of the principles incarnated in Mr. Van Buren, who yet refused to

support him on the ground of his former malfeasances, and gave their votes to Taylor or Cass as men to be preferred to him. In politics it will not do to inquire too curiously into the past history of men prominent enough to be a Presidential candidate. Bygones must be allowed to be bygones. A man's present position, his contemporary pledges, must be admitted for the purposes of political qualification. Men who are frightened from their political propriety by the spectre of Mr. Van Buren, are of too queasy a constitution to last long, even with the most industrious patching. They would soon have come to an untimely end, by some other distemper. The new party gained a loss in their demise. It is absurd for men willing to act under the Constitution, and to be true to its compromises, to object to the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, or Mr. Anybody else, to be their chief agent in maintaining them, who will consent to do it in the way they like the best. Mr. Van Buren answered the purpose of the party that nominated him, as well as anybody could.

Mr. Van Buren's Letter of Acceptance was a document that gave great satisfaction to the New Party, and with justice; for it was all that men limiting their movement to the Platform of the Buffalo Convention could ask. It accepted that Platform in full—was explicit and emphatic on the subject of Slave-Extension—thought circumstances have so far changed as to justify him in approving an act for the Abolition of Slavery in the District, though he does not think it advisable—and adopted the views of the Convention as to Internal Improvements, Public Lands, and a Revenue Tariff. It made Mr. Van Buren out to be a very suitable candidate for the Conscience Whigs, the Barnburning Democrats, the Liberty Party, and for all, generally, who are content to keep Slavery where it is, and to fight it with their hands tied with the compromises woven by their fathers, and worn willingly by themselves.

But though Mr. Van Buren will do very well for the Movement Whigs, Democrats, and Third Party Men, he is far enough from coming up to the mark of the Abolitionists. His whole argument rests upon the interference of Slavery with Northern influence and rights, and the danger of its power being augmented and perpetuated by its extension over new territories. He has nothing to say, except slightly and inferentially, against

Slavery itself. He is profoundly respectful to the Slave States and Slaveholders, and piously regardful of the Compromises of the Constitution. Now all this is what the New Party want. He and they should be all this. They contemplate remaining in a Slaveholding Union, and putting forth the united strength of the confederacy for the maintenance of Slavery within its appropriate sphere. He justly represents the party in all this. He plainly states the grievance of the non-Slaveholding States, as it lies in his mind: that they have been disappointed of the political supremacy, the expectation of which induced them to assist "in investing the Slaveholding States with the privileges and guarantees of the Constitution." Which means, being interpreted, in engaging to let them import slaves for twenty years, to send back their captives, to put down their insurrections, and to give them three votes for every five slaves. And it is not the atrocity of the bargain that shocks Mr. Van Buren so much, but the being overreached in the consideration.

Mr. Van Buren is at great pains to exculpate the Wilmot Proviso from the imputation of being disrespectful to the Slaveholding States! He talks a deal of twaddle about "the true glory of the Confederacy," and of "the humiliation of a part tarnishing the glory of the whole." He thinks that the Northern people are so "national in their feelings," and cherish so "deep a solicitude for the honor and welfare of all its members," that if "they believed the success of this measure would draw after it such grave consequences, they would be among the last to uphold it!" Polite Mr. Van Buren! We always heard he was a well-bred gentleman, but he seems to be the very pink of courtesy and mirror of knighthood. Lord Chesterfield was a boor to him! The glory of a Slaveholding Nation! The honor of woman-whipping and baby-stealing ruffians!

We think Mr. Van Buren is quite out in his inference, that because the Slave States were in favor of the Ordinance of 1787, that it was from any predilection for freedom. It was because they were jealous of the competition of new States in their own departments of production, and because the prohibition of the Foreign trade had not given rise to the Great American System of the Protection of the Domestic Manufacture of Men, that they were eager with their concurrence.

Who believes these men would be thus unanimous now, were the work to do again? Equally strange appears to us his way of looking at passing events, if he were induced to declare his intention of vetoing an Act for Abolishing Slavery in the District by the apprehension of a servile war! If "the extent to which this subject was pressed" created such a danger then, surely, it must be ten times greater now. And yet, Mr. Van Buren will not veto a Bill now! A servile war! Three millions of unarmed, uneducated slaves, fighting against seventeen millions of intelligent enemies, armed to the teeth! Does Mr. Van Buren think there can be any fear, or any hope, of such a war as long as this Union endures?

But we have no purpose of criticising this letter. It speaks for itself. It is all that voters under the Constitution have a right to ask. Mr. Van Buren fitly represents the party of which he is the head. He will oppose the extension of Slavery over New States; but he will maintain its constitutional rights in the Old. He will still deliver up the fugitive slave to the tyrant out of whose hand he has escaped. If a Sable Revolution is on foot, he will crush it with the whole force of the Nation. He will uphold the Oligarchy which rules over us, by maintaining their right to rule by virtue of their ownership in human flesh. All this he must do, if he be true to the Constitution he will swear to support. All this they who appoint him their minister by their ballots, empower and instruct him to do, by the terms of that Commission which they give him. Mr. Van Buren and his party leave the matter of Slavery where it was twenty years ago. They do not propose to meddle with its existence, provided it can live where it is. They only hope to curb its further progress. This is vastly better than nothing. It is a step in the right direction, over which we rejoice. But we cannot but see that it is but a very short and uncertain step. A step which might as well not have been taken, if it be not the precursor of another. And there is no other step to be taken within the Constitution. This touches its extremest bounds. The Abolitionists have transcended its limits. They refuse to be bound by it, and consequently, to bind others by it. They stand outside of it, and demand a purer Constitution and a holier Union. All they have to do at this crisis, is, to stand firmly in their present advanced and im-

pregnable position, and urge upon all genuine enemies of Slavery to come up and do battle by their side.

The nominations made and accepted, the Free Soil Party was instant, in season and out of season, in the promotion of its success. Its prominent members spared neither time nor talent in preaching its doctrine and recommending its practice. Mass meetings were held at all suitable points, and assemblies gathered in almost every village to hear the new word. The result was the rallying of a large minority, most respectable in point of character, as the germ of a new party. With the result its members have no reason to be dissatisfied. Its success was unprecedented, taking into consideration its brief existence and formidable foes. Its birth, too, was connected with the death of the Third Political Party, which merged itself in the New Party, with a joyful suicide. At Boston, at the time of the State Free Soil Convention, the "Liberty Party" formally dissolved itself. This was also done in New York, and we believe in most of the States where that Party had a recognized existence. Thus this impediment of the Anti-Slavery Movement is at last removed out of the way. It was a necessary concomitant of genuine Anti-Slavery, as counterfeit coin is sure to follow close on the heels of sterling money. A spurious Abolitionism sprung up in the presence of the true, as naturally and inevitably as the shade follows the substance. The Abolitionists had startled the selfish dreams of the State, and disturbed the fat slumbers of the Church. A new impulse was communicated to the mind of the country. The general attention was attracted to the wrongs of the slave and to the complicity of the politics, and yet more the religion, of the land in them. The ramifications of Slavery were found to reach farther than the clearest vision had discerned in the early days of the cause. It seemed as if the blows which were dealing to it must shake pulpits and affiliated theologies, as well as State-houses and parties. A way of escape had to be devised for those who, either through inadvertence or mistake, found themselves thundering at the gates of the Church. That way was discovered to lie through the gates of politics.

This way was an effectual one. It comfortably conducted the ministers, whose equanimity had been disturbed by the wholesale Ultraism of Anti-Slavery, back to the world; and

there they found ready to join them, a company of the refuse politicians of the two old political parties. Every one that was in distress, and every one that was discontented, joined themselves unto them, and they became a party. Besides these, there was a proportion of honest men and sincere Abolitionists, who did verily believe that this was the best way of attacking Slavery. But the description of persons that gave tone to it were not such as could give confidence or respectability to any association which they led. As its origin was factious, its course has been devious. It had one set of principles for the East, and another for the West. Now it regarded the Constitution of the United States as an Anti-Slavery instrument; and, again, it recognized its Pro-Slavery character. At one time it professed to stand on the highest religious and moral ground; and anon it turned a somerset into the arms of Hale or Van Buren, — very sensibly regarding availability as a much better thing in a candidate, than piety. But throughout its course, and in all its various phases, it has shown none but a malign aspect to the Anti-Slavery cause. Its influence, as far as it has gone, has been evil, only evil, and that continually. What apparent good it may have done, has been incidental and accidental. It has retarded, not hastened, the very state of political feeling which has now devoured it up. The Free Soil Party exists, not because, but in spite of it. We believe that an effective political opposition to Slavery would have been embodied long since, had not the ground been cumbered with this preposterous faction.

But for a long time past the Third Party has shown signs of decrepitude and decay. The better portion of the party have grown tired of their disreputable leaders and their absurd position. We believe the respectable and honorable gentlemen who have joined themselves to it, have been somewhat impatient of the company in which they found themselves, and of the impracticable way in which they were set to work. It was obvious, small as the progress of the party had been, that it had seen its best days, and that henceforward its career would be backward. In this state of things, the Free Soil Party was a perfect God-send to it. Its members had an opportunity to obtain a respectable political *status* — to get into good company again — and they most eagerly embraced it. With the most earnest

speed, with no coy reluctance, with scarcely a dissenting voice, they united themselves with the disaffected portions of the national parties at Buffalo. It was the wisest thing they ever did, as a party. They are now in a position in which they can fairly help to try the experiment whether anything can be done, politically and partywise, under the Constitution, for the control or the extinction of Slavery. The high character and distinguished position of the leaders of the New Party, will throw those of the Old one into obscurity. They can never stamp their personality upon it as they did upon that which they owned themselves. In subordinate posts of labor they may be employed, though with no good will; but their little brief importance is gone, and their names will be now forgotten, except in connection with former treachery and dishonesty towards the Slave's cause. The sooner the better for the prosperity of the Free Soil Movement.

The day of prophecy is passed; that of fulfilment is come. For long years the Abolitionists have been looking forward to the state of things which is now beginning to develope itself. They have always known that the effect of their labors would at last be seen in the disturbance of the political elements and the re-construction of the political parties. They have seen and said, for long past, that there were no principles on which parties could divide, at this day, in this country, excepting Slavery and Anti-Slavery. In point of fact, for near thirty years there has been but *One* party, — the Slavery party, — which has governed the country through the factions springing from local or economical interests, into which the population of the country has, from time to time, divided itself. The better portion of those factions, who sincerely believed that vital principles were wrapped up in their organizations, were slow to believe that they were powerless for good, — mere "slavish officers of vengeance," — devices having as little to do with the regulation of our superincumbent despotism, as the Green and Red Factions of the Byzantine circus with that of the later emperors. But their eyes have been torn open by the insane fury of the tyrants themselves. They now begin to discern in how vain a show it is that they have so long been walking. And they are bestirring themselves to do what they may towards undoing the work of former years.

It is not too much to claim these results as largely owing to the labors of the Abolitionists of near twenty years. For nearly a score of years have they been preaching the Gospel of the Wrongs of the Black Man and the Guilt of the White Man. They have shown how the machinery of the State and the Church has been prostituted for the comfort and encouragement of the Master, and for the crushing and despair of the Slave. How political and ecclesiastical jugglers have endeavored, and with what fearful success, to sear the consciences, to deaden the sensibilities, to confuse the moral sense, to perplex the intellectual perceptions of the American People. How the National Government has ever been, and must ever be, in its present shape, a grand Conspiracy against Freedom and Humanity. How there is no innocence for the individual, except in refusing to use political power when it must needs be directed for the sustentation of Slavery, and no Redemption for the Slave, and no Regeneration for the Free, except in a Revolution which will utterly separate Slavery from Freedom. These truths they have enunciated and enforced as they successively arrived at them. At every successive step have they been resisted and reviled, and men and presses of all complexions of politics and of every shade of religious discrepancy have united in casting out their name and their doctrine as evil.

But the bread which they had thus cast upon the waters is returning unto them, after many days. The protest which they have kept alive against the National Crime, the continual claim which they have maintained for the rights of the Slave, the Truth which, line upon line and precept upon precept, they have reiterated in men's ears, whether they would hear or whether they would forbear, have not been uttered in vain. A public sentiment has been, slowly and with difficulty, created by the operation of Anti-Slavery papers, meetings and lectures, which reaches many who know not whence the influences which they feel went forth, and which is now beginning to be seen in Congress, in State legislatures, and above all, in the disorganization which is at work in the old political parties. These are things to make the hearts of Abolitionists rejoice. It is not the end, but it is the beginning of the end. It is not the harvest, white for the sickle, but it is the bursting forth of the green blade in which the prophetic eye of Faith sees fore-

shadowed the full triumph of the Harvest-home. It is a state of things which makes no difference in our position or in our duties, though it is full of fresh encouragement and new hope.

It makes no difference in our position or duties, because the new movements, onward and hopeful as they may be, are yet far beneath the level of the Anti-Slavery platform. Our business is to marshal them in the way that they should go,—to lead them up to yet loftier heights,—and not to fall back upon their imperfect point of progress. We hail their honorable rebellion with joy, and we hold ourselves ready to do whatever we may, consistently with our higher duties, to cheer and help them. But we may not acknowledge them as leading the van of the Movement against Slavery,—for they not only do not occupy, but they do not claim, such a position. It is a joyful sight to see honorable and influential men trampling upon their old party banners, and falling into line with their former antagonists, in order to present a more formidable front to a common enemy,—the common enemy of the human race. But it is, after all, only cutting off the outposts, and preventing the occupation of new country by the enemy, that these new allies propose to themselves. Useful as this service must be, if honestly attempted, whether successful or not, it can be regarded only as very secondary and subordinate to their own office by those who have sworn eternal hatred to the Adversary, and whose war-cry is, "*Delenda est!*"—Slavery must be extirpated, let what will perish with it!

The scope of the New Party is not a wide one. It does not propose to itself any very radical Anti-Slavery action. It is only indirectly and by implication an Anti-Slavery party, at all. It touches the system of Slavery only by opposing itself to its growth in certain directions. If it carry its point, Slavery will still exist and flourish. It is a hopeful movement rather with regard to the hopeless character of the parties from which its constituent elements have separated themselves, than to the broad views and high objects of the party itself. It is as a sign of discontent with things political as they exist, and of a reaching after something better, that it is to be accepted by Abolitionists as an augury of good. If it stop where it is, and make no forward movement hereafter, it would be better for it and its members if it had never been born. This is, doubtless, the

natural process of Revolutionary ideas and movements. They proceed from the lower to the higher; from the imperfect perception to the full comprehension of the Truth. We say Revolutionary ideas and movements, because all such as look to the removal of Slavery from this country, are, of their own nature and necessary tendency, Revolutionary. They strike at an essential element — at the governing element — of our Institutions. As truly Revolutionary as Ideas and Movements contemplating the extinction of the hereditary or monarchical principle in the polity of England. Not necessarily Revolutions achieved on Marston Moors and Bunker's Hills; but not the less Revolutionary because won on fields where Public Opinion speaks with a different but no less authoritative utterance. That this is understood by the Slaveholders, keenly observant and sensitive like all aristocrats, is shown by their renewed threats of Disunion in view of the present aspect of affairs at the North.

The Free Soil Party, however, is not in its nature and avowed purposes, a Revolutionary party. For it does not aim at the life, but only at the growth, of Slavery. Its name rightly describes it. It is a party for keeping *Soil* free, and not for setting *Men* free. Now Freedom of Soil is a phrase of no meaning, except in as far as it implies that of Men. Soil cannot be enslaved. It is as impatient of chains and whips as the sea or the air. Calhoun may be mad as Xerxes when

“The waves he lashes and enchains the wind,”

but he can never make the boon Earth his bond-slave. If the slaves of the United States are to be kept slaves forever by the power of the United States, it is of no particular consequence whether they be kept within the now acknowledged domain of Slavery, or scattered from the Potomac to Cape Horn. It is not the diameter of the circle which is to be described around the Fiend that is of so much importance. It is the potent exorcism which is to bind him and send him howling back to his own place, that we should seek to discover and employ. It is the Institution of Slavery that is the curse of the land and the disgrace of human nature, and not its permission in this or that portion of the country. As soon as the Free Soil Party becomes the direct antagonist of Slavery proper, it necessarily becomes

Revolutionary in its nature. For no political attack can be made upon it, in good faith, or with any effect, "within Constitutional limits," and by "Constitutional means."

Supposing the Free Soil Party triumphant, and all that it professes to desire to do accomplished, what would be its relation to Slavery where it now exists? Slavery would still be guaranteed to the Slaveholding States; the masters would still vote for three out of five of their slaves, as if their own political existence was multiplied in that ratio by this sort of ownership; if a slave escaped into a Free State, the master would still have the right of pursuit and recapture; and in case of servile revolution, the military arm of the nation, and, if necessary, the whole force of the Free States, would be put forth to crush it. All these things Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Adams will swear to do when they take their oaths to support the Constitution, and these things all those who, by voting for them under the Constitution, shall elevate them to office, empower and instruct them to do in their behalf and as their ministers. As far, then, as Slavery is concerned within its present limits, and as it now exists, the Free Soil Party is as much committed to its maintenance, if it obtain power, as the Whig or Democratic party, and Mr. Van Buren will answer the purpose of Slavery quite as well as General Taylor or General Cass, if he be true to the oath he must take as preliminary to the office. The Abolitionists, therefore, properly and distinctively so called, whose business is the extinction of Slavery wherever it exists in the nation, and who perceive that it can never be destroyed by supporting and defending it, either in their own persons or by their political servants, appointed at the polls, can obviously have nothing to do with this movement, except to point out its short-comings, and invite it to advance to a higher and more practicable point of attack. As long as it intends to be true to the Compromises of the Constitution, (as it must do, or be forsworn,) it is a *Pro-Slavery* party as truly as either of the three others — because it will give Slavery the countenance and support of the whole nation, just as they would do, in its place.

The New Party is not the party that is to abolish Slavery by withdrawing from it the support of Northern bayonets and pulpits, of the physical force and the public sentiment of the Free States; but it will prepare the way for its advent. It is not

the Deliverer, but it is the Messenger that goeth before his face. It is shorn of half its strength by its attempt to be a National, instead of a Sectional Party. To be effective, it must be distinctively a Sectional Party. It must renounce forever the allurements of the Delilah of Union, which has so often cheated the strong man of the North of his strength, and delivered him, bound, to the Philistines. The party, yet to be, which is to do this work, will be technically a Northern, or Free State Party. Its object will be, by the action of the Free States alone, outside of the Constitution, to free themselves, and the slaves, from their guilty support of the system of Slavery, while acting under the Constitution. This Party will agitate within the Free States for the formation of a new Confederation of States, that shall have no part nor lot in the support of Slavery, and shall be free from its despotic sway. It will go for a new Constitution, for a Union of freemen, free from the insidious element of tyranny, disguised in Compromise. Its object will be the foundation and edifying of a true Republic, where the people will choose their own magistrates, and make their own laws, and not merely register the edicts of a ruthless aristocracy, deriving its hereditary and prescriptive privileges from ownership in human beings.

This will be a movement which can be carried on in good faith and aboveboard, and one in which all can unite, who hate slavery for the blacks and subserviency for themselves. We believe great multitudes are ready for this movement now, as soon as it takes a political shape. We are sure that the experience of the Free Soil Party will show multitudes more, that this is their only hope for a National existence and Government, consistent with self-respect and their own rights. It is, too, the only hope for the Slave, and the Free White population of the Slave States. It is sometimes said that the North should remain in the Union for the sake of these classes. The North can do nothing for the Slave or the Free White of the South, as long as it remains in its present conspiracy with the Slave-master against them both. All that either, if intelligent, should ask, would be, "let us alone! Take your feet off our necks, and your muskets from our breasts, and leave the Slaveholders to us!" The abolition of Slavery would probably anticipate such a consummation, to prevent it. But if not, we may safely leave the quarter of a million Slaveholders to the

three million slaves and seven million non-slaveholding whites. As soon as the fear of the Northern minute-men shall be removed, as soon as the weight of the Nation shall be taken away from the oppressed classes of the South, they may be left to work out their own deliverance. Within a month from the Dissolution, unless prevented by Emancipation, the Barri-cades will go up in New Orleans and Charleston, and the super-incumbent tyranny will go down in blood. And would such a catastrophe be worse, horrible as it might be, than the daily horrors which are due to the postponement of it by the interposition of all the People as a Nation?

As it is the manifest duty, so it is the obvious policy, of the Abolitionists to maintain their present position, unless they discern one in advance of it. Their business is to use all parties and all sects in their unselfish work of abolishing Slavery, but to be used by none. Their steadfast and uncompromising adherence to their highest Anti-Slavery Idea, has brought up the public mind to its present point of progress. By the same fidelity only is it to be carried on to a yet higher stage of advancement. It would be absurd, as it would be fatal, for them to recede a step in the vain expectation of a speedier obvious result. The greatest possible expediency is a rigid adherence to the highest absolute right. So we hold that we shall best promote the Anti-Slavery Movement, in its every shape and modification, by being true to ourselves, by a strenuous maintenance of our Nonjuring Disunionism, and by a faithful upholding of the cardinal principle of the American Anti-Slavery Society — “NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!”

MASSACHUSETTS.

The words and deeds of Massachusetts have been again at variance, when she was brought to the test of Anti-Slavery fidelity. Again has she protested in an eloquent report, drawn, we believe, by the Hon. Joseph T. Buckingham, against the Mexican War, and forthwith she proceeds to cast her vote for one whose only claim for the highest place in the Nation, consisted in successful chieftainship in that war, and this by the hands of the very protesting Legislature itself! Her public history during the past year has been chiefly composed of the

agitation of the choice between the Tyrant and the Parasite, whom the two great parties had set up for the people to worship. Though almost all persons of all parties professed to be hostile to Slavery and its Extension, still a large majority of the voters cast their votes for one or the other of the candidates, on whom Slavery had set her seal. An honorable resistance was made, to which we have just alluded, but it was in vain. It was but a Protest against the Past, and a Pledge for the Future. We hope that we shall see the one maintained and the other redeemed.

On the 5th of February, the question of the Dissolution of the Union, came up in the House of Representatives, upon the presentation of one of the petitions sent out by this Board, praying the Legislature to call a Convention of the People, to take measures for the protection of their rights and liberties, and to provide for a peaceful secession of Massachusetts from the Union. It excited a debate of some warmth and interest. Mr. Bryant, a Democratic lawyer, of Barre, opposed its being referred at all. "*The House*," said he, "*owed it to their dignity to refuse to give it any consideration!*" Mr. Griswold, of Greenfield, entertained the same lofty views of the dignity of the House and of the nature of the petition. "It should not be entertained. The first dawning of an attempt to dissolve the Union should be frowned down!" Mr. Bird, of Walpole, who distinguished himself as the Anti-Slavery leader of the session, combatted these slavish doctrines with much ability, and the right of the petitioners to be heard was also maintained by Messrs. Train, of Framingham, Branning, of Tyringham, Lord, of Salem, and others. The petition was finally referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. It was the wish of the petitioners that the petitions on this subject should go before a Select Committee; but public sentiment is not yet ripe enough to compel such a disposition of them. But the day will come.

The Judiciary Committee, which was thus charged with this matter, gave the petitioners a hearing on the afternoon of Friday the 17th of March. The hearing was had in the Hall of the House, being an improvement upon the courtesy of the last year's Committee which suffocated the audience within the limits of a small Committee Room. The audience was large, filling the entire Hall, and the Committee was addressed with

much logical acumen and eloquent earnestness by Messrs. Wendell Phillips and Garrison. It is hardly necessary to add that the Committee reported that the petitioners have leave to withdraw, and that their report was accepted. We would urge upon all who feel that the time has come for the delusive Union of these States to be broken up, to persevere in their Annual Demand upon their public servants to take the initiative step towards such a consummation. The number of the petitioners have annually increased since this form of agitation was adopted, and we trust that it will go on increasing until it can command attention and obedience. We commend this mode of Anti-Slavery action to the continued and earnest co-operation of the Abolitionists of the State and of the Country.

OTHER STATES.

Since we last addressed you the State of Rhode Island has joined herself to the band of States, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Pennsylvania, which have forbidden their Judicial and Executive officers from assisting in the recapture of fugitive slaves, and closed the gates of their jails against the slave-hunter. Its passage was opposed in the House, chiefly by Mr. Samuel Ames, a lawyer of some distinction in Providence, and was urged by Messrs. Ballou, of Cumberland, Buffum of Smithfield, and Whipple of Coventry. It prevailed by a vote of 39 to 16. In the Senate it passed unanimously.

In the same State Mr. Justice Woodbury received a singular rebuke from the Grand Jury of the Circuit Court at Newport. He had laid down the law with great distinctness, and commented with great severity, upon the *foreign* Slave-trade, — a favorite topic with Slaveholding and Pro-Slavery functionaries, and one not unsuited to the meridian of that *quondam* emporium of the traffic. But the Grand Jury, by way of commentary on the law of the learned Judge, presented the American Slave-trade as more abhorrent to the principles of Democracy and Humanity, than that on the Coast of Africa!

In the State of New York an attempt was made to procure the passage of a "Latimer Law," similar to that passed, as above, in Rhode Island; but without effect. The report of the

Committee held to the doctrine that the Common Law was sufficient to prevent the aid and comfort sought to be taken from the Slave-hunters. And this in the face of the Prigg case, where the Supreme Court laid it down as their opinion that State Magistrates *were* authorized to give certificates and arrest fugitives, unless forbidden by express statute!

In Ohio, the Legislature has again refused to repeal the infamous Black Laws, which are a disgrace to Civilization and Humanity. We trust that the strong Anti-Slavery spirit which exists there will not cease to move upon the surface of Public Opinion until Ohio is redeemed from her anomalous and disgraceful position. The People of Ohio had, during the last year, an opportunity of judging of the advantages they derived from their fellowship with Slaveholders, to conciliate whom this diabolical code was framed and exists. Fourteen citizens of the State on the line from the river Ohio to Sandusky were arrested, held to bail, and a requisition made upon Governor Bibb for their delivery to the authorities of Kentucky, to be tried for the crime of assisting in the evasion of slaves! A crime committed wholly within the borders of Ohio, and consisting in hiding the outcast and giving him a helping hand on the road of Liberty! A good deal of excitement prevailed, but was allayed by the refusal of Governor Bibb to obey the requisition, on the ground that it was no offence against the laws of Ohio that was charged upon the accused, and that an offence against the laws of Kentucky could not be committed in Ohio.

The State of Connecticut, the last year, passed an act emancipating some score of slaves that still lingered within her borders, and forbidding the holding of that "peculiar species of property" there hereafter. Even a tardy act of Justice like this should not go without its meed of approval; but a stronger demonstration than this is needed to wipe away the disgraceful act of the people of Connecticut, last year, by which they refused to ratify the Constitutional amendment, giving equal political rights to her colored inhabitants.

THE SOUTH.

The prospects of approaching Emancipation in Kentucky continue to be hopeful. The public opinion of a State which has suffered so long under the semi-barbarism of Slavery must,

necessarily, sway backwards and forwards as varying impulses act upon it. The calling of the Convention is a sign that the tide is setting strongly in the direction of Emancipation. We hope to have good tidings to proclaim when we next address you. A symptom of reaction, which was shown in the Legislature, gave alarm and uneasiness at one time to those who were waiting for the better days. A proposition was made, and passed by the House of Representatives, to repeal the law of 1833 whereby the importation of Slaves was prohibited. The effect of this, had it passed, would have been to make Kentucky a breeding State, and thus to increase the selfish obstacles to Abolition. But fortunately, it was rejected by the Senate, though only by two votes.

The Louisville Examiner has continued to be an able auxiliary to the Emancipation Party in Kentucky. Though its ground is not the highest, it is transcendent when compared with the things in the midst of which it finds itself. Mr. John C. Vaughan, who established it, and conducted it with eminent ability for the first year of its existence, retired at the expiration of that period. His editorial tact, general information and special acquaintance with Slavery, rendered his retirement a serious loss to the paper and the Cause of Emancipation in Kentucky. His assistant editor, Mr. Cosby, together with the Rev. J. H. Heywood and Professor Noble Butler, succeeded him in his editorial duties, and have discharged them with much fidelity and talent.

Mr. Cassius M. Clay, since his return from the Mexican War, has done nothing to retrieve his tarnished fame and ruined influence. His labors have been mainly directed towards procuring the election of General Taylor to the Presidency. His works have been collected and published with a biography by Mr. Greeley. But the day when such a publication would excite any genuine interest is passed. The time has been when any utterance of Cassius M. Clay would have drawn willing audience from all who are eagerly hearkening for some tidings of hope from the Southern prison-house. Though the blast that he blew was rather the wild note of the bugle than the certain sound of the trumpet, still its echoes were joyfully caught up as the signs of life and the symbols of resolution. But all that is changed, now. He has thoroughly disenchanted himself. When

he sought the bubble Reputation in Mexico, and found only Captivity, his solid fame melted into air. His voice has no more virtue in it, now, than it would have had giving the word of command to his troop after the Capitulation at Encarnacion. He no longer speaks as one having authority. He has cashiered himself. And yet he clings to the remembrance of his former consideration, and seeks to conjure with the memory of his former power. But his wand is broken and his book buried deeper than ever plummet sounded.

It is a melancholy thing to witness such a fate as Mr. Clay has chosen for himself. With the fairest prospect of the greatest career in the country, he has failed at the outset. Instead of glory, he has covered himself with shame. Instead of strength, he has clothed himself with weakness. From being the terror, he is now the jest of the Slaveholders. In August, 1845, he was mobbed and put in danger of his life in Lexington. In December, 1847, he was welcomed back with processions, peals of bells and addresses! And neither he, nor his biographer, Mr. Greeley, seem to read this riddle aright. Such a failure is more mournful and more instructive, than the most touching ruin.

"Things incomplete and purposes betrayed
Make sadder transits o'er Truth's mystic glass,
Than noblest objects utterly decayed."

While the extinction and the limitation of Slavery has been agitating men's minds at the North, and on the Northern frontier of the South, the Institution itself has not been inattentive to the preservation and promulgation of its blessings. A plan to invade and take possession of the Northern Provinces of Mexico, by a Slaveholding Crusade, and the establishment of a second Texas, to be called the Republic of the Sierra Madre, in due time to be annexed with all its institutions, was set on foot in the extreme South, under the *nom de guerre* of a Buffalo Hunt. It was affirmed that the Government of the United States, while it refused to assist in this freebooting project, took no measures to prevent it; although such an undertaking is treason by the laws of the United States. Whether this Expedition will go forward, or whether the extension of Slavery will take some more recognized direction, will be a chapter in the history of the current year.

Nor has there been any lack of wordy protest against "the fanatical cravings of Abolitionism," which would rob the South of her share of the newly stolen domain. Public Meetings, Legislative Resolves, Gubernatorial Messages and, since the late agitation of the subject of Slavery and the Slave-trade in the District, the Southern delegation in Congress, have pronounced the ultimatum of the South. It is, substantially, that the South will consent to abide by the Missouri Compromise, grievous as was the injury done to her rights by that exclusion of her Slavery from regions in which Nature had made its existence impossible; but beyond that point Patience will cease to be a Virtue. Threats of Disunion and a Southern Convention, are thrown out with more or less distinctness; but they seem to fall upon inattentive ears. Even among themselves the Slaveholders are not united upon the course proper for them to pursue in this distress. We apprehend that there is little reason to hope for any such result. The South is too conscious of her weakness to proceed beyond threats and gasconades. Whether the nerves of the Northern members will be able to withstand this long triumphant bugbear will be soon seen.

The atrocious proposition of banishing the Free People of Color from Virginia, has again been recommended by the Governor of that State. The folly of a State that should think of depriving herself of Fifty Thousand laborers, would be worthy of Spain in the days of the Expulsion of the Moors, or of France in those of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. We can hardly think even Slaveholding folly can amount to such a fanaticism. It would be sure to redound, at no distant day, to the disgrace and discomfiture of its promoters. Such an attempt must help to arouse and concentrate the Anti-Slavery feeling which is rife in Western Virginia, and would, perhaps, hasten the day of the doom of Virginia thralldom.

The eyes of the Slaveholders, and of their Slaveholding countrymen in Cuba, are not yet diverted from the prospect of adding that wealthy Island to our Southern possessions. Though disclaimers have been put forth from official sources at Madrid and elsewhere, denying that any proposition of this sort was entertained by the Spanish Government, and although the local authorities have been prompt to check any demonstration in the

Island, in this direction, still, in the unsettled and uncertain position of Spanish affairs, and in the tempting nature of the prize itself, we see probabilities and reasons too potential to be overlooked or neglected by so sagacious a class of men as the Slaveholding leaders. If American Slavery do not obtain a foothold in the West Indian Archipelago, and at no distant day, it will be through a combination of circumstances which have not as yet entered upon the scene.

ESCAPE OF SLAVES.

On the 13th of March last, the Metropolis of the Nation was delirious with joy, in celebration of the Revolution which had changed France from a Kingdom to a Republic. It was a scene of glorious enthusiasm. Public meetings, addressed by prominent Members of Congress, Slaveholders, and others, filled up the hours of the day, while the festive blaze of illuminations and torch-light processions, made the night illustrious. But the joy was soon turned into mourning, for on the 16th it was discovered that a large amount of the property of the District had contrived to steal itself, and had disappeared from the eyes of its patriotic owners. More than seventy Slaves were missing, and the whole attention of the Collective Wisdom of the Nation, and of the Inhabitants of the District, was absorbed in the excitement it created. Every measure for their recapture was taken, and, unfortunately, with too much success. On the 17th, the Pearl, the vessel which was freighted thus deep with weary and hopeful hearts, was captured by a steamer sent in pursuit, brought back to Washington, and the whole cargo, as well as the gallant men who had attempted this great deliverance, were committed to the Prison of the Nation. The subject was first brought up in the House, on that very day, by a motion of Mr. Giddings, for an inquiry, by a Select Committee, into the reasons why these persons had been cast into prison for attempting to escape from bondage. But it was voted down amid the jeers and laughter of the House.

In the excitement which pervaded the City, consequent on these events, a tumultuous assemblage of the more ignorant classes of the inhabitants, who had heard the National Era denounced as an Abolition paper, proceeded, under this delu-

sion, to demand its suppression. The explanations of the editor, and the better information of the more intelligent portion of the citizens, saved him from the crown of martyrdom, and the Era still continues to be peacefully issued in a city where no genuine Anti-Slavery paper could exist for a day. But the Mob, though satisfied as to the innocence of the Era, were not mistaken as to the mischievous influences of some obnoxious members of Congress, and they threatened them with condign vengeance. Mr. Giddings was the especial object of their wrath, and it was thought that he was in actual danger of personal violence.

In view of this state of things, Mr. Palfrey, on the 20th, offered a resolution to raise a Select Committee to inquire into the facts relating to the safety of property in the District, and to the inviolability of the persons of the Members of Congress. This gave rise to a long and angry debate, in which Mr. Palfrey and Mr. Giddings had to withstand, almost alone, the combined forces of Slavery in the Lower House. They both of them distinguished themselves by the readiness and force of their rejoinders to their antagonists, and by the courage and temper of their bearing. The resolution was, of course, laid upon the table. In the Senate, Mr. Hale stirred up a similar tempest, by asking to introduce a Bill for the protection of property in the District against Mobs. Though the subject of Slavery, the immediate occasion of the Bill, was not mentioned in it, still it called forth all the zeal and all the venom of the Slaveholding Senators. Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, in the course of the debate, distinguished himself by the coarseness and virulence of his Pro-Slavery utterances, in the course of which he said that if Mr. Hale would visit his State, "he would not travel ten miles before he would grace one of the tallest trees of the forest, with a rope about his neck, with the approbation of every virtuous and patriotic citizen; and that, if necessary, he (Mr. Foote) would assist at the operation!" Mr. Hale had to defend himself single-handed against his opponents, no Northern Senator giving him any assistance, with the exception of some of a very equivocal kind, from Senator Davis, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Douglass, of Illinois, whose drift of argument was to show that the Slaveholders were injuring the cause of Slavery by the tone of their speeches and the character of their propositions! The motion, of course, came to nothing.

As to the unfortunate beings, whose obedience to the instinct of freedom had created this disturbance, the greatest part of them were soon passed into the hands of the Slave-traders, and carried to the more distant and fatal regions of Slavery. The generous men, Drayton and Sayres, remained in jail, subjected to the harshest and most unjustifiable treatment, until the end of July and beginning of August. Bail, notwithstanding the provision of the Constitution that it shall not be excessive, was required in the sum of \$76,000 ! And it was not thought safe to have them taken before the highest Judicial authority of the District, to apply for a reduction, lest their lives should be sacrificed by the vigilant mob ! Towards the end of July, Captain Drayton was brought to trial. He was ably defended by the Hon. Horace Mann, and Mr. Carlisle, of the District. Before any but a Slaveholding Bench the prisoner would have been discharged on more than one point of law ; and by any but a Slaveholding jury he would have had a triumphant acquittal. As it was, the jury was out nearly twenty-four hours, and, it is believed, was at last only starved and threatened into unanimity.

In August, Captain Sayres was tried and acquitted on the indictments for stealing slaves, but convicted on those for "transporting" them. English, the other prisoner, was acquitted, there being no evidence against him. The penalties to which these brave men are subjected, will be a virtual condemnation to perpetual imprisonment, unless their sentences be remitted, or the proceedings in their cases reversed. Exceptions were taken to the ruling of the Court, which will bring the question before the Supreme Court of the United States. It is hoped, perhaps too sanguinely, that even Slaveholding Judges will have too much respect for their legal reputation to sustain the law of Judge Crawford. Be this as it may, it will bring up the whole question of Slavery in the District for adjudication, before all the People, and whatever may be the result, it cannot but be helpful to the interests of Liberty.

Though this signal instance of the triumphant manner in which Slavery over-rides law as well as justice, and the striking nature of the case from the amount of misery involved in the re-capture of so large a number of fugitives, produced a strong sensation in the Northern States, still it was by no means so

deep or so universal as a stranger to our institutions might have supposed it would have been. But while we lament this, we cannot but admit that such indifference is but the natural and necessary result of the institutions under which the American people grow up and live. A Committee, however, was raised in Boston, who have received a considerable amount of money, the largest part of it being from the munificent hand of Gerrit Smith, which has been expended in the defence of the prisoners. We believe that the funds of this Committee are now at an end, though the call for them is as pressing as ever. We cannot but hope that the lovers of Justice, and those especially who are desirous of procuring a decision of the highest tribunal in the country, upon the constitutionality of Slavery, will see to it, that the sum necessary for a full trial of the case is supplied.

This was by no means the only instance of the way in which offices of humanity, the most simple and the most imperative, are converted into crimes by the infernal magic of American Laws. Last June Thomas Garrett and Thomas Hunn, members of the Society of Friends, were tried at Newcastle, Delaware, and convicted of the crime of having given food and shelter, and conveyed from one town to another, an unfortunate black woman and her six children, who had been discharged by the Chief Justice for want of evidence of their servile condition! For this offence Mr. Garrett was fined \$5,400 and Mr. Hunn \$2,500! The presiding Judge ruled that if the persons assisted were Slaves, and the defendants assisted them, they were guilty of the crime of assisting fugitives, notwithstanding the discharge of the parties for want of evidence! If such be justice in a State on the borders of Freedom and on the verge of Emancipation, what must it be in the more desperate Slave States?

In the same frontier State, Samuel D. Burns, a worthy colored citizen of Wilmington, of respectable position and good education, has been tried and convicted of the offence of assisting runaway Slaves, and sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred dollars and costs, to be imprisoned ten months and then sold to the highest bidder, as a Slave, for fourteen years! Of course this is equivalent to selling him into life-long Slavery, for who is to seek him out and protect his rights at the extreme

South, at the expiration of fourteen years, should he then survive? How long will Divine Justice sleep before it is avenged of such a people as this!

But notwithstanding the severity of these and other examples, we are happy to know that the stream of fugitives from a land of Slavery still keeps flowing and swelling on. The evasion of Slaves from the frontier States is continual, and from the remoter ones frequent. It is becoming daily more and more difficult for a master to reclaim a fugitive, and in many parts of the country no such attempt would be made. Queen Victoria is daily receiving new and grateful subjects who fly from the tyranny of a Republic to the generous shelter of a throne. And the Free States are continually acquiring useful citizens by this emigration from the Slave States. May it increase till every town in the Free States has some one whose complexion, whose history and whose danger may forever remind them that they, too, belong to a Slaveholding nation, and that they can perform the first duties of humanity only at the cost of violating the laws of their country!

THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

The public consideration of the subject of Slavery in Great Britain has been chiefly, during the past year, in the direction of its relations to the settlement of the Sugar Duties Question. The full penalty incurred by the British Nation for its encouragement of Slavery and the Slave-Trade is not yet paid. The ghost of the departed Slavery of the West Indies still walks in the purlieus of the British Senate, frightening ministers from their propriety, and threatening to push them from their stools. The gradual extinction of the discrimination in favor of British Sugar was demanded by the consumers at home. Lord John Russell yielded to this demand so far as to provide for its gradual reduction until 1854, when all sugar should be admitted on equal terms. This was coupled with loans to the planters of £660,000, to enable them to meet the crisis. Even this liberal arrangement found small favor in the eyes of the West India Interest,—the spoiled child of English legislation. The cry of that Interest has ever been that of the leech's daughter, "Give, Give!" It must first have human beings for its beasts of

burden, and when amply compensated for their restoration to humanity, it claimed the monopoly of the British market as its due; and now when the spirit of Free Trade fixed a day when the sugars of the colonies should be put on equal terms with those of the rest of the world, it called for a free gift, under the name of a loan, of no less a sum than £500,000 for the importation of laborers. This question occupied the public mind and the time of parliament for a considerable time, and every species of influence was brought to bear on the British Senate to tax the British people yet again for the benefit of the Jamaica planters.

The philanthropic argument was strenuously urged, and by none more strongly than by the members of the Broad Street Committee. The guilt of encouraging the production of slave-grown sugars was loudly dilated upon. But, unfortunately, these philanthropists, whose humanity, as George Thompson said, "seemed to be confined within the circumference of a sugar-hogshead," forgot to remember that there was slave-grown *cotton*, too, which calls for legislative suppression quite as loudly as slave-grown sugar. But there being no colonial cotton-growing interest to take care of, no outcry was raised against that staple of British Wealth. The attempt was fully made during Slavery, and has been tried since, to make the West India Islands sugar-islands in despite of Nature. Nothing but the highest rate of protection, that of war, ever made it really worth while to pursue the culture of sugar in those islands. The attempt, during Slavery and since, has been ruinous to the planter and burdensome to the British people. They now pay nearly three millions sterling for the continuance of this fatal experiment. Just as we are heavily taxed in order that negroes may be ground into sugar and distilled into rum in Louisiana, which Nature never made for the cane any more than she made men for Slaves.

It seemed, therefore, to the advocates of Free Trade, that it was time to consider the wants of the consumers at home as well as the necessities of the producers in the Islands. There is no interest that has been so petted and received so much protection from the Home Government as the planting interest. Mr. Bright, in his speech on this subject, showed that so far from the compensation granted in 1834 being inadequate, that,

had the amount paid to Jamaica been invested at five per cent., the annual income would have been greater than the value of all its exportations in the most prosperous years? And so of the other principal sugar colonies. The remedy for the distress of the colonies is to direct their attention to other tropical productions which they can raise to advantage. There seemed to be no great unwillingness, on the part of the liberal presses and members, to grant this assistance, for this once, to be applied to irrigation and improvements in agriculture; but Mr. Thompson and others protested against its being applied to the introduction of laborers from Africa, regarding it as a modified revival of the Slave-Trade.

Mr. Thompson's speech on the 26th of June, was an extremely able exposition of the whole subject, and a very eloquent enforcement of his views. He did not fail to do justice to the abominations of our Slavery and to enforce his argument as to the consistency of the legislation asked by the protectionists, by referring to their relations with us. He said:—

“ True, we have washed our own hands of the abomination in our own colonies, but while we have a British Ambassador at the court of Brazil, and another at Washington,—while we were recognizing those communities as nations, forming treaties with them, and allowing their citizens to hold a station among us, and while we recollect our own recent connection with Slavery,—it was not for us to turn round all at once, and preach the doctrines of humanity, freedom, and justice, or seek to advance them by fiscal enactments or brute force.”

Many other eminent speakers, on both sides, derived illustrations and arguments from the Slavery of the United States. The debates furnished new proofs of the just contempt into which this country is falling, in the eyes of statesmen and politicians, as well as of moralists and philosophers, in consequence of the accursed Institution. It would be well if their words could be re-echoed through the land; if there be ear or soul to apprehend their meaning. On the 29th of June, Sir Robert Peel uttered the following words, towards the close of his speech, which, surely, might draw audience, as the deliberate opinions of the first Statesman of the Age,

“ Whose old experience doth attain
To something like prophetic strain ! ”

"There have been mighty convulsions in Europe. Their mighty heavings are already felt on the other side of the Atlantic. Look at Martinique. (Hear, hear.) These are useful lessons, by which Brazil, Cuba, and the United States, will do well to take a timely warning. (Hear, hear.) My belief is that the events which have just happened in Europe must precipitate the time of the final extinction of this Slavery and of the Slave-trade. I hope that the abolition will be effected by timely precautions on the part of Governments; but there will be an increasing sympathy with the condition of Slavery. But whether there be wise and providential legislation on the part of governments or not, I believe its doom is sealed; that Slavery cannot long survive; that it must, at no remote period, be extinguished."

The question of the expediency of continuing the blockade of the Coast of Africa, has also excited its share of public and private attention. The evidence before the Committee of Parliament upon this subject, gave new and frightful views of the extent and horrible cruelties of the African Slave-Trade. It cannot be denied that the British Government has been consistent and hearty in its warfare with this atrocious form of piracy. We regret that its efforts have not been more successful, and we blush to think that the failure has been in no small measure owing to its virtual encouragement and support by the Government of the United States. Whether the active measures of the African Squadron will be continued, or whether the National energies will take some other direction, we have full faith that the hostility of the British Nation to the African Slave-Trade will cease only with its extirpation.

From the Abolitionists of England, Scotland, and Ireland, we have received renewed and increasing assurances and proofs of their constant and enlightened zeal in behalf of the American Slave. Though there has been no excitement from the personal presence and influence of American Abolitionists, the interest of the Abolitionists of these Kingdoms, in the American Movement, seems never to have been warmer or more intelligent. An interest, like theirs, in efforts for the removal of an evil so far remote from themselves, springing as it does from the impulses of humanity, and fortified by the sanctions of religion, may be depended upon as enduring. Even the calamities with which they have themselves been visited, coming in the shape of actual famine and of threatened civil war, failed to

divert their attention from the worse than starving victims of a worse than political oppression. Liberal gifts from all of these countries, falling behind none of the most bounteous of former years, helped to fill the scanty treasury of the Slave, through the medium of the Faneuil Hall Bazaar, and those held at Philadelphia and Rochester. The blessings of those that are ready to perish, and of the few that are found to help them, abide upon these faithful and unwearied philanthropists!

We regret that we are obliged to record the death of Major John B. Colthurst, of Dripsey Castle, Ireland, of whose Journal, while employed as a Special Magistrate in Barbadoes, and of whose other Anti-Slavery services, we had occasion to speak last year. "He died," as we are informed by a letter from his daughter, "on the 10th of May, after years of acute suffering from lingering and painful disease, of which the foundation was laid by his excessive exertions during the four years he held the office of Special Justice in the British West Indies." "It will be gratifying," the letter continues, "to his friends and fellow laborers in America, to know that, to the last, his interest in the great cause in which they are engaged, remained unabated." His last words were, "It is a comfort to me, *now*, to know that, so long as it lay in my power, I never spared any exertion calculated to promote the cause of Justice and Humanity." Such a reflection might well smooth the pillow of death, and soften the pangs of the bereaved survivors. It is his sufficient eulogy, and might be his fitting epitaph.

ABOLITION OF FRENCH SLAVERY.

In our last year's Report, after describing the Tunisian and Danish Emancipation, we said, "France will soon follow!" But we little thought that fulfilment would follow so closely upon the steps of prophecy. The "masterly inactivity" which Louis Philippe and his ministers had shown in regard to this matter gave but little hope that Freedom would dawn upon the French Islands during the reign of the Citizen King. It was but too evident that he had no heart for this work, and that the majority of the Chamber of Deputies was of like mind with their master. But the whirlwind of the Three Days of February supervened. The Orleans Dynasty was swept away like

stubble before the blast. The Chamber of Deputies disappeared with it. The Republic was proclaimed. The Provisional Government assumed the helm of affairs until the Nation could organize itself. And one of the first acts of the new depositories of the Supreme Power was to decree the Immediate Emancipation of all the Slaves in the French dependencies. The brief and sublime decree was couched in the following words :

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

LIBERTY — EQUALITY — FRATERNITY.

The Provisional Government of the Republic, considering that no French land should any longer bear slaves, decrees — a Commission is instituted under the Provisional Minister of Colonies and the Marine, to prepare, within the shortest delay, the act for the IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES in all the colonies of the Republic.

F. ARAGO.

Paris, March 4.

This proclamation was worthily succeeded a few weeks later — April 27th — by the final Decree carrying into effect the intentions of that just recited. Its preamble, and the spirit of the articles generally, especially those which provide that the soil of France, or any of her dependencies, shall emancipate any Slave touching it, and forbidding all Frenchmen, everywhere, from possessing, purchasing, or selling Slaves, on pain of the loss of citizenship, are worthy of the first days of a True Republic. The provision for a delay of two months before complete Emancipation, and the allowance of three years for Frenchmen in Slaveholding countries to dispose of their Slaves, are indeed to be regretted as blots upon so brilliant a page of History. But, with these defects, it is the most magnanimous and courageous act of justice ever performed to an oppressed people by their oppressors. It cannot be thought out of place to insert it here in full, as one of the most interesting movements of the World's Anti-Slavery History.

The Provisional Government, considering that Slavery is an attempt against the dignity of man; that by destroying the freedom of man, it suppresses the natural principles of right and duty; that it is a flagrant violation of the Republican dogma of liberty, equality, and fraternity; that unless effective measures follow closely the proclamation already made of the

principle of abolition, deplorable disorders may arise in the colonies, decrees —

ARTICLE 1. Slavery shall be entirely abolished in all the colonies and possessions of France, at the end of two months after the promulgation of this present decree in each of them. From the promulgation of this present decree in the colonies, all corporal punishment, all sales of non-liberated persons, shall be absolutely interdicted.

2. The system of engagements for periods of time, established at Senegal is suppressed.

3. Governors or Commissaries-General of the Republic are charged with applying the measures suitable for insuring emancipation at Martinique, Guadeloupe, and its dependencies, the Island of Reunion, Guiana, Senegal, and the other French settlements on the western coast of Africa, the Island of Mayotte and its dependencies, and Algeria.

4. All slaves condemned to afflictive or corrective punishments for acts which, if imputed to freemen, would not have been visited with these punishments, are pardoned. All individuals transported as an administrative measure, are recalled.

5. The National Assembly shall fix the indemnities to be granted to the colonists.

6. The colonies, purified from Slavery, and the possessions in the Indies, shall be represented at the National Assembly.

7. The principle, that the soil of France emancipates the slave who touches it, is applied to the colonies and possessions of the Republic.

8. In future, every Frenchman, even when in a foreign country, is interdicted from possessing, purchasing, or selling slaves, and from participating, directly or indirectly, in any traffic or dealing of this nature. Every infraction of these provisions shall involve the loss of the quality of a French citizen. Nevertheless, Frenchmen who shall find themselves affected by these provisions, shall be allowed three years to conform, from the time of the promulgation of this decree. Those who may become possessors of slaves, by inheritance, gift, or marriage, shall, under the same penalty, emancipate or alienate them within the same delay, from the day on which their possessions shall have commenced.

9. The Minister of the Marine and Colonies, and the Minister of War, are each, so far as concerns him, charged with the execution of the present decree.

Done at Paris, in Council of Government, this 27th of April.

The manner in which the boon (if a simple act of justice should be so styled) of freedom was received by the French Slaves was illustrative of all the simple and natural truths of the Anti-Slavery creed. The first advices which we received

from the French Islands was to the effect that the blacks were massacring the whites and laying waste the country, and that the latter were flying for their lives to escape from the fury of their emancipated bondmen. Authentic accounts, however, soon contradicted these absurd rumors, and told that it was not freedom, but the temporary withholding of it, according to the unwise clause of the Decree of Emancipation, that had given occasion to whatever of insubordination and violence the Slaves had committed. Seeing their rights placed almost within their reach, and then told that they were not to lay hold of them for two months, and especially in view of the great uncertainty as to what two months might bring forth in the history of the mother country, it is not to be wondered at that the Slaves refused to wait, or that they threatened to extort at once what they feared might be lost to them by delay. Their philosophy was much better in this respect than that of the *savants* and statesmen who made up the Provisional Government. But as soon as the proper remedy was applied by the Governors of the Islands, and immediate abolition proclaimed, all fears were calmed, all signs of violence disappeared, frowns gave way to smiles and tears of joy, and hostile demonstrations were replaced by religious processions and public ceremonies of rejoicing. In St. Martins the example of French justice compelled an equal measure to be dealt out by the authorities of the Dutch part of the Island. Thus the first impression was made upon the Slave-system of a nation that has never yet shown any disposition to be rid of it. We hope that the success of this slight experiment may lead to more extensive results.

While this great act of justice was thus performed by the Provisional Government, without the breath of opposition being heard against it in France, and while it was thus gratefully and peacefully received, when made complete and perfect, by its objects in the Islands, it was the source of no small annoyance and debate in the Houses where the Collective Wisdom of the Model Republic is gathered together. The birth of a New Republic, indeed, was an occasion of National self-eulogy and of pretended sympathy with a struggle for freedom, too favorable to be neglected by the Logocracy that rules over us. But the reproof implied in the action which had accompanied and

sanctified the French Revolution, was too keen and too deep to be borne with equanimity. On the 30th of March a Joint Resolution of Congratulation to the French, offered by Mr. Allen of Ohio, came up for consideration in the Senate. Mr. Hale moved to amend by adding among the reasons of congratulation that the French Nation had "manifested the sincerity of their purpose (of establishing a Republican form of Government) by instituting measures for the immediate emancipation of the Slaves in all the colonies of the Republic." This gave occasion to a solemn debate in which the prospects of the French Republic were considered by Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Douglass, Mr. Allen and others; and the first decision of the Senate was to defer the consideration of the resolution until it was ascertained whether the French were deserving of congratulation or not. This first unlucky act of theirs was, unquestionably, the main source of the doubts that agitated the Senatorial mind. At a later day a resolution of congratulation, couched in the simplest and baldest terms was passed by the Senate and sent down to the House.

In this latter body, the debate was more protracted and much more excited and agitating. On the 3d of April, Mr. Cummins, of Ohio, offered a series of congratulatory resolutions to the French and Italian people. To one of these resolutions Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts, moved to add as an amendment "and we especially see an encouraging earnest of their success, in the Decree which pledges the Government of France to the Immediate Emancipation of Slaves in their Colonies." To this was added by the mover's consent, on the suggestion of Mr. Schenck, of New York, the clause,— "recognizing, as we do, the great cardinal republican principle, that there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime." This gave rise to a warm debate of great length, in which the folly and fanaticism of the proposition of Immediate Emancipation was loudly denounced. The whole debate, indeed, took the shape of an Anti-Slavery discussion. At a later day, the following resolution, above referred to, came down from the Senate:—

Resolved, That, in the name and behalf of the American people, the congratulations of Congress are hereby tendered to the people of France, upon the success of their recent efforts

to consolidate the principles of Liberty in a Republican form of Government.

This resolution, after debate, was adopted by a vote of 174 to 2. The next day, Mr. Palfrey moved a reconsideration for the purpose of moving an amendment to the same effect. Upon this motion the whole subject of Slavery, and of the treatment of the free people of color in the Free States came up again, and one of the most angry debates or conversations of the session ensued. But the question of reconsideration was laid upon the table by 124 to 44. Thus it was that the felicitations of this Republic to the French People on the recovery of their right of self-government were marred and almost smothered by the black and damning consciousness of our own inconsistency and guilt.



The joy caused by this memorable act in the breasts of all the true lovers of impartial liberty in the country was sincere and cordial. But the hearty expression of it was almost entirely confined to the "technical" Abolitionists. At most of the other Meetings of Congratulation on the Revolution, this distinctive feature was but too generally unnoticed, or glanced at in the most perfunctory style of generalization. That there might be at least one Assembly which should express in the fullest manner what should be felt by all consistent Americans, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society called a Public Meeting, at the Melodeon, in Boston, on the evening of Fast Day, April 6th. The use of Faneuil Hall, the fitting scene of such an occasion, was denied by the City Government, lest the mourning decorations with which it was hung at the time of the funeral of Mr. Adams, and which it still retained for the occasion of his eulogy, should receive some detriment. The meeting was held in the Melodeon, which was entirely filled, and with as intelligent and discriminating an audience as Boston could supply. Mr. Garrison took the chair about half-past seven, briefly stated the occasion of the meeting, and read the Decree in virtue of which Slavery is to cease forthwith in the dependencies of France. Unfortunately, the state of his health prevented him from taking a more extended part in the proceedings of the meeting.

After the Resolutions had been read by Mr. Quincy, with a few remarks, Mr. Wendell Phillips made one of his very best

and most impressive speeches, full of thought and emotion, fitly uttered and adorned. He shadowed forth the far reaching issues of this great act upon the destinies of our own Slavery. He recounted the treachery of the cunning King to the Republican Idea in the person of Lafayette; he described the apparent success and prosperity which had attended on the treason; and then pointed to the inevitable Nemesis which pursued and overtook him, at last, when he seemed to have established himself forever. He, then, denounced the treason of America to the Republican Idea, and closed with a prophecy that Eternal Justice would yet overtake her, and avenge Lafayette, Kosciusko, and Steuben, for the faith she had broken with them.

He was followed by Messrs. Theodore Parker and William H. Channing, both in the best mood of their several styles. Mr. Parker drew a favorable augury of the permanence of the new institutions from the moderation shown by the populace in the stormiest hours of the Revolution. He denied that the French people were without a fitting education for self-government, and scouted the idea that it was "*too soon*" to rejoice in a change, the issues of which were yet unknown. "When a man-child is born into a house," said he, "of fair proportions and goodly promise, *that* is the time when we congratulate the event. We do not wait till he is *grown up*!"

Mr. Channing opened in a fine vein of scorn of the peddling spirit in which the news of this great event was received in this country, and the apprehensions of possible damage to our trade which swallowed up all generous sympathy. He dwelt emphatically upon the characteristic feature of this movement—that it was the Revolution of the laboring classes; not of an Aristocracy against a Throne, or of the *Bourgeoisie* against the Aristocracy. He contrasted the spirit and character of the French and the American people, and showed the higher hope which the infancy of the New Republic gave to the nations to make amends for the disappointment of our own maturity. He concluded by bringing before our eyes the gigantic negro who stood upon the scaffold in the *Place de la Revolution*, in the Reign of Terror, stripped to the waist, his broad black breast flecked with gore, as he shook in the face of the people, one after another, the convulsed heads of the victims of the guillotine. "Such an apparition," he exclaimed, "haunts every

land of Slaves! Such a spectre disturbs the slumbers of the planters of the French sugar islands! Such a ghostly presence drives peace far away from our own Southern States! The French Republic has used the only spell of power to exorcise the dire phantom from its own borders. And there are no words of might enough for our deliverance but the magic formula of Lamartine,— IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION! 

The actual equality established by the Abolition of French Slavery, has received its seal before the whole world, in the presence of two black and two colored Members of the National Assembly,—one of the former having been once a slave. These gentlemen were received with marked distinction, and the eagerness of their fellow members to welcome them even disturbed the order of the session, when they were introduced. When shall we see a man of color admitted to a seat in Congress, or even in the Legislature of one of the Free States? Thus this Great Act of National Repentance and Reparation has been completed. Whatever may be the fate of the French Nation,—whether, as its enemies prophesy, it shall prove incapable of self-government, and again sink into political servitude, under the yoke of another Restoration of the Elder or the Younger Branch of the Capets, or of a new Return from Exile of the Napoleonic Dynasty, or whether it shall indeed exhibit to the World the example of a Model Republic, free from the vices and inconsistencies which disgrace our own, this sublime act cannot be undone! If the Revolution go backward and perish, it will leave a monument more durable than arch or column, and which will preserve its memory as long as the race of Africa remains upon the earth.

The folly of a plan of preparation for the possession of himself by man, however long deprived of his self-ownership, was again signally illustrated by the history of the Danish West Indies. We related last year the particulars of the Emancipation of the Danish Slaves by the late King Christian, on the 18th of September, 1847, and we prophesied a speedy termination of the four years' apprenticeship, with which he had clogged his gift of liberty. Accordingly, when the movement in men's minds which has made this year memorable in the annals of the world, reached these dependencies, the apprentices, or "unfree," grew impatient for the full possession of their

rights. Movements of an insurrectionary nature took place, which were terribly exaggerated by the fears of the whites, conscious of the terrible arrears which they owed to their former slaves. But their true character may be inferred from the statement of the white party itself, that not one white man had perished during the disturbances, while numbers of negroes had been shot down in the field or by military execution. The result, however, was the proclamation of immediate and unconditional freedom to all the blacks. This proclamation of Governor General Van Scholten to the Slaves in St. Croix, St. Johns, and St. Thomas, dated July 3d, is as follows :

1. All unfree in the Danish West India Islands are from to-day emancipated.

2. The estate negroes retain for three months from date the use of the houses and provision grounds of which they have hitherto been possessed.

3. Labor is in future to be paid for by agreement, but allowance to cease.

4. The maintenance of old and infirm, who are not able to work, is, until farther determination, to be furnished by the late owners.

The manner in which this announcement was received by the negroes is thus recorded in the St. Thomas Times, and is a sufficient refutation of all Pro-Slavery constructions of the outbreaks of the natural love of liberty, under circumstances favorable to its recovery :

It becomes our pleasing duty to record in this number of our journal, that by a Proclamation dated July 3, issued by his Excellency Governor General Peter Von Scholten, all slaves in the Danish West India Islands are emancipated. The lively joy with which the boon was received by the unfree in this Island can easily be imagined ; but we are happy to state that, although the decree was sudden and so unexpected, no other sounds were heard but those of rejoicing and thankfulness.

So much for the dangers of Immediate Emancipation, and for the necessity of Gradual Preparation for Liberty !

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Fourteenth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held on Tuesday, May 9th, in the Tabernacle in New

York. It was fully attended by members of the Society and by the public, and was addressed, first, by the President, Mr. Garrison, on taking the Chair, and afterwards by Mr. Theodore Parker, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, Messrs. Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass. All of these speeches were full of the peculiar characteristics of ability, and the unction of a wise enthusiasm, which mark the speakers. They were received with great approbation, and read, when reported, with general admiration. The business meetings of the Society were held at the Minerva Rooms, for three days, and each day exceeded its yesterday in the interest of the subjects brought before them, the ability with which they were discussed, and judgment with which they were disposed of. The whole field of Anti-Slavery doctrine and duty was gone over, the testimonies of the Society reiterated in the ears of the Church, the State, and the Parties, and plans and means arranged for carrying on the agitation of the current year. The attendance of members was unusually large, and all seemed to go up to their homes comforted and encouraged.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

This Convention held its sessions this year at the Melodeon during the day, and in Faneuil Hall in the evening. The members in attendance, both from the ranks of the Abolitionists, and from the world outside of them, gave encouraging evidence of a continually increasing interest in the subject which calls it annually into being. It began on the 30th of June and continued through three days and evenings. An extremely bad day had its necessary effect on the numbers of the first day and evening; but they were notwithstanding large. The attendance on the two last days and evenings was as large as the halls, where the Convention met, could hold. On the first evening, Messrs. Charles C. Burleigh, William H. Channing, and Frederick Douglass, made excellent speeches. That of Mr. Douglass was uncommonly felicitous, and called forth thunders of applause. On the second evening, Messrs. William W. Brown, Theodore Parker, and Wendell Phillips, spoke in their very best manner. On the third evening, Faneuil Hall was overflowing with a sea of "upturned faces"—the tide having

gone on swelling, as usual on Anti-Slavery occasions, higher and higher to the last. The audience, too, was not entirely a friendly one, and there was evidence of the presence of elements which might easily be roused into a storm. Mr. Pillsbury, however, got the ear of the audience, and held it, though not without interruption, to the end of his speech. Mr. Remond, who followed him, was received with entire respect and listened to with unbroken attention, or broken only by applause. As it is not many years since this gentleman was hooted down in this very place, for no reason but his complexion, we could not but accept this circumstance as a sign of a changing public sentiment. Mr. Garrison followed in a happy commentary upon this sympathy, on the part of such an audience, with the extreme opinions expressed by Mr. Remond, as to the right of forcible recovery of their rights by the Slaves. Mr. Phillips closed the session with a brief but pungent speech, full of eloquent statements and witty illustrations, showing the absolute positions and relative attitudes of the Abolitionists, of the Parties, and of the Nation, before the world and towards each other. We believe that this Convention was surpassed by none of its predecessors, in the interest of its discussions, the importance of its topics, or the extent of its influence.

ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

After the last Annual Meeting we continued our operations in the lecturing field, under the direction of our General Agent, Mr. May, as extensively and thoroughly as the means placed at our disposal would permit. Besides Mr. May we employed regularly Messrs. Pillsbury, Brown and Moody, — in addition to whom we had occasionally, the invaluable services of Mr. and Mrs. Foster, who gave such a share of their time as they could spare from their private duties. Mr. John S. Jacobs, formerly a slave, also did the cause good service by the indefatigable zeal and excellent judgment with which he gave himself to it. Towards the time of the New England Convention we enjoyed, for a short season, the valuable labors of Mr. Charles C. Burleigh. Mr. Henry C. Wright lent us, also, at that time, and on other occasions during the year, the free-will offering of his life and talents, which he has devoted to the cause of Human Redemp-

tion. Mr. Garrison, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Buffum and other Abolitionists rendered occasional but most welcome assistance at this period, as well as at others, of the year. As large a number of public meetings was held by these friends as was compatible with the time at their command. This series of meetings extended nearly until the New England Convention and, no doubt, largely contributed to the signal success of that gathering.

At the New England Convention a plan was proposed, and funds raised, to set on foot a series of One Hundred Conventions to agitate in the State the question of Dissolution, and especially in view of the recent illustration of the value of the Union, shown in the case of the Pearl captives and their generous helpers, Drayton and Sayres. This plan was carried out by the General Agent with singular completeness, considering his very limited supplies of men and money. Two series of Conventions were held, one in the Eastern and the other in the Western part of the State, and an almost continual agitation of the question of Slavery was kept up from that time to this, and from Cape Cod to the hills of Berkshire. Besides Messrs. Pillsbury and Brown and Mr. and Mrs. Foster, the General Agent had the assistance of Miss Lucy Stone, who commended herself to the warm regard of all who knew her by the devotedness of purpose, the thoroughness of preparation, the intrepidity of utterance and the gentleness of demeanor which she brought with her to her chosen lot. We regard the acquisition of the services of this young lady as of very high value to the interests of the Anti-Slavery cause. Mr. Ballou, also, contributed a large portion of his valuable time and labor to the promotion of this movement. Dr. Hudson, Mr. Remond, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Hayden, and others, gave assistance to a greater or less extent, but always valuable and valued. The range of these Conventions included almost every district of the State, and occasionally passed the lines into Maine and New Hampshire. The influence of so many words of truth and freedom cannot fail to be beneficent and lasting.

The Hundred Conventions were not without that seal of the genuineness of the truths they proclaimed which is set upon hated truths by the opposition of brutal violence. At Harwich, upon Cape Cod, on Sunday, August 28th, one of the most

ferocious mobs which have ever disgraced the country, not surpassed in furious violence even by those of 1835—6, was encountered. A numerous assembly was convened in the open air and many of the harshest truths touching the political complicity of the North with Slavery had been heard with comparative patience. But when the case of a master of a vessel, a member of a Baptist Church in good and regular standing, who had received a hundred dollars of a slave as the consideration of bringing him to the North, and then returned both slave and money to the master, receiving a portion of the latter as his reward, when the case of this devout captain, who was present and admitted and justified his conduct, came up for consideration, and was commented upon in the terms it deserved by Messrs. Pillsbury and Foster and Miss Stone, the zeal of the defenders of the Faith could no longer be restrained. A party of devout men, fresh from the droppings of the sanctuary, headed by an Orthodox church-member, exclaiming, full of holy indignation at Mr. Foster's thunders of denunciation against *such* a religion, "It is a lie! It is a d——d lie! I'll defend the church!" rushed upon the platform and hurled the offenders to the ground, in the most savage and brutal manner. The injuries received by them were fortunately less serious than was intended; but it was through no good will of the pious assailants that they escaped without injury to life or limb. The meeting was, of course, broken up; but we have faith to believe that such a conclusion will be longer remembered, and have a more awakening effect, than the most elaborate discourse or the most animated discussion.

Early in the year, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society felt itself compelled to discontinue the extensive system of Conventions which it had held in the State of New York for nearly two years, with good general effect. About the same time an arrangement was made with Mr. James Russell Lowell, by which the Standard has had the advantage of the brilliant and pointed productions of his pen as Corresponding Editor. The Standard, conducted with singular industry and great editorial ability by Mr. Gay, who has now had it in charge for more than half the period of its existence, has continued to deserve the confidence and support of the Anti-Slavery public, as its organ of communication with the

world. We trust and believe that it will continue to enjoy both as long as the Anti-Slavery movement is needed. An Anti-Slavery visit to the State of New York, made last summer, by Adin Ballou and Dr. Hudson, was attended, we are assured, with rewarding and encouraging success. The North Star, the establishment of which we recorded last year, has continued to be conducted by Mr. Douglass, assisted by Dr. Delany and Mr. John Dick, with much talent and discretion. The editors have devoted a considerable portion of the year to an attempt to make it the organ of the colored people and to place it upon a sure foundation in their confidence and support. In this plan, and for their general success, they have our most cordial good wishes.

In other portions of the country the pure gospel of Abolitionism has been preached with zeal and constancy. The Eastern Pennsylvania Society have conducted the agitation in their own State and in Delaware, to the extent of their means, with their accustomed fidelity and in their usual spirit. In the West the Bugle has continued to give no uncertain sound, and has marshalled the hosts as fearlessly and uncompromisingly as in times past. The Western Anti-Slavery Society held a successful Anniversary, and there has been no small amount of work done in that region, when we consider the extent of the field and the fewness of the laborers. The true and tested Abolitionists of Ohio enjoyed for some time the services of Henry C. Wright and Charles C. Burleigh who labored, unwearied and indefatigable in their vocation. We cannot doubt that the seed thus scattered will yet germinate and bring forth a hundred fold. A National Convention was held at Cleveland in Ohio, last October, of delegates of the colored people of the United States. It was large in numbers, and its deliberations characterized by dignity and ability which won for it the respect even of the Pro-Slavery inhabitants of the region in which it was held. Mr. Douglass presided over it and the Address and Resolutions that emanated from it bore an impress of talent and good sense such as must help to elevate the race in the opinion of the hostile world around them, as well as to produce the immediate effect upon themselves which was the object of the Convention.

PUBLICATIONS.

During the past year several valuable publications have made their appearance. Mr. Wright put forth last summer a little work, containing a parallel between Richard Crowninshield, the Assassin, and Zachary Taylor, the General. Although this work was more immediately intended as a Peace Tract, it may also be fairly numbered among Anti-Slavery publications, from its tendencies and its connections. Mrs. Jane Elizabeth Jones, of the Ohio Bugle, also published a small volume, entitled "The Young Abolitionists." Its object is to present the facts and arguments of the Anti-Slavery Cause in an attractive and *understandable* shape for the use of children. The conversational form into which the matter is thrown takes away from it the didactic formality of a set treatise, and yet it embodies the substance of Anti-Slavery doctrine and discipline, in a perspicuous manner. Mrs. Jones's idea is one somewhat new, as applied to Anti-Slavery truth; but it is a valuable and judicious one, and is well carried out. All the various aspects of the cause are presented, and made obvious to the understanding of the young; and children of a larger growth would do well to review their experience in this well-arranged Compend. All who are acquainted with the character or the writings of Mrs. Jones need not be told that her doctrine is of the most thorough and orthodox school of Anti-Slavery, and that her style is simple, eloquent, and energetic. The Anti-Slavery public is under obligations to her for this supply of a deficiency in their children's books.

Mr. William I. Bowditch, last summer, published in a separate pamphlet an article of his which appeared in the Massachusetts Quarterly, on the great question, "Does the Constitution of the United States, when rightly interpreted, support Slavery?" Mr. Bowditch clears away the clouds of dust which have been raised for the purpose of blinding the eyes of the people, with much ability, and makes the whole way so clear, that the way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein. He has dealt with his subject like a lawyer, a man of common sense, and an honest man. He places the Pro-Slavery character of the Constitution in the clear light in which its own terms, the constructions of the courts, and the consent of the people, had combined

to place it, until certain ingenious gentlemen chose to signalize the keenness of their optics, *not* by "seeing what was not to be seen," *but* by refusing to see what was plain as the sun at noon-day to all eyes but theirs.

FOURTH OF JULY AND FIRST OF AUGUST.

The Great National Holiday, representing a great Idea of Resistance to Oppression, but most sadly yet ludicrously perverted in its frantic celebration by a Nation of Oppressors, was fitly honored by this Society, in the beautiful grove at Abington, which we have before described as the scene of Anti-Slavery Assemblies. The day was fine and the concourse very great. Mr. Garrison was called to the Chair, and addressed the meeting, together with Messrs. Phillips, Pillsbury, Brown, Buffum, Johnson, Miss Stone, and others. The highest Anti-Slavery ground was taken and maintained, the position of the Old Parties exposed, and the attitude of the New One illustrated. It was one of the most successful and happy Anti-Slavery Assemblies ever held. This custom of redeeming the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence from the fulsome falsehood of its usual commemoration, we rejoice to find obtaining among Abolitionists in all parts of the country, and we hope that it may become general and universal.

The Celebration of the First of August was held this year at Lynn, with the most entire success. Mr. Buffum was called to the Chair, and the meeting was addressed by Messrs. Quincy, Robinson, of Bermuda, Brown, Stone, of Salem, Shackford, Phillips, Miss Stone, and others. The weather was very fine, and the attendance from all parts of the State, but particularly from Boston and the County of Essex, was very large. We were happy to see that the colored population of Boston, Salem, and their neighborhoods, so generally made this a holiday for themselves and their children. A very large proportion, much larger than is usually seen on any like occasion, of the assembly, were of African descent. And, certainly, in appearance, dress, manners, and deportment, they would have been a credit to any holiday party in any part of the world. It was very satisfactory to have before our eyes so unequivocal an answer to the common assumption of the insufficiency of that

race to take care of themselves. They are, many of them, living examples of success in the pursuit of competence, intelligence, and respectability, under difficulties of no common severity.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIRS.

The usual liberal contributions to the necessities of the Anti-Slavery cause have been received through the labors of the Anti-Slavery women of Massachusetts and the Country. Anti-Slavery Bazaars have been held in various parts of the Country, and with a success that was truly rewarding and encouraging. In the Spring, a Fair of great brilliancy and success was held at Worcester, which brought more than a thousand dollars into the treasury of the Slave, and was of great incidental advantage in creating an interest in the cause in that city. The National Bazaar at Faneuil Hall, during the week preceding and following Christmas, equalled any of its predecessors in the beauty of its arrangements and the value of its articles for sale. It showed no diminution in the zeal of the women, either of America or of the British Islands, for this work of mercy. The weather was extremely unpropitious, but notwithstanding this untoward circumstance, and one or two others of unfavorable aspect, the result nearly approached to that of the most fortunate years. During the evenings of the Fair, Addresses were made by several distinguished Anti-Slavery speakers.

In the conducting of the Bazaar, as well as in other departments of the cause, the absence of some of the earliest, most devoted, and most efficient, of its managers and friends from the country, has been most seriously felt. The presence of friends, whom nothing could dishearten or tire, whose perseverance was only to be equalled by the excellence of their judgment and the unwearied fidelity of their zeal, could not but be sadly missed. We know, however, that their devotion to the cause is not diminished by the distance that separates them from the scene of its toils, and that their services to it are changed only, not lost. The intelligence of their welfare will ever bring the warmest pleasure to many hearts, and the day of their restoration to their country and their friends will be joyfully anticipated and gratefully welcomed.

Fairs have been held during the year in various other places — West Winfield, Philadelphia, Rochester, Weymouth, Centreville, and elsewhere ; in some places with distinguished success, and in all, we believe, with satisfactory results. We see no symptom of flagging interest or decaying zeal among the women who have given themselves to the accomplishment of the Great Deliverance of the land. They have shown their faith by their works.

THE CHURCH.

The relations of the Church, as a mass, as embodied in its ~~Great National Sects, and even in most of the smaller denom-~~inations, towards the Slave and his advocates, remain much as they have been in times past. The American Church is still the Bulwark of American Slavery, behind which the monster stalks and is safe. But that the spreading influences of Anti-Slavery truth are being seen more and more in the action of churches and ecclesiastical connections, and of individual ministers, we are happy to acknowledge. But these exceptions are only of that class which prove the truth of the general rule.

The Ministers of the Free-Will Baptist Denomination, last Spring, put forth a Protest and Declaration of Sentiments on the Subject of Slavery. It was signed by 616 ministers, and expressed views and resolutions which, if enforced and lived out, would go far towards exonerating the Connexion from the guilt of sustaining Slavery. After describing the nature of Slavery, and stating the reasons which made such a public demonstration proper and necessary, the Protest goes on to say :

We, therefore, by refusing to support Slavery, its principles or its advocates, and by withholding Christian and Church fellowship from all guilty of the sin of Slavery, and by remembering those in bonds as bound with them, would wish to wash our hands from the guilt of this iniquity.

This may be made to include, by a proper definition of the "advocates," and of those "guilty of the sin of Slavery," all that Anti-Slavery duty can require of an Ecclesiastical Body. We trust that the Free Will Baptist ministers will prove by their walk and conversation, the sincerity and intelligence of these their words of Protest and Resolution.

Early in the year was published a letter from a number of Unitarian Ministers in Ireland, in reply to one inviting them to attend the last Anniversary Meeting of the Unitarian Association, in Boston. It spoke distinctly, though with sufficient mildness, of the sin of Slaveholding, and of the prejudice against color, and exhorted their brethren to be faithful in these regards. Though we could have desired a voice of louder remonstrance and keener rebuke, in view of the enormity of the sins in question and the shortcomings of those addressed, still we believe it will not be without its appropriate influence.

At the last Annual Convention of Congregational Ministers, in May, the Rev. Dr. Lowell introduced the question of Slavery in an earnest and eloquent speech, and moved the following Resolution :

Resolved, That a Committee of nine be appointed to prepare a Report, to be presented at the next Annual Meeting of this Convention, containing a brief history of the rise and progress of Slavery in our country, a view of the responsibility of the Free States in regard to it, and a calm and temperate, but solemn and earnest appeal to the community on this momentous subject.

The Resolution passed with little or no opposition, and in our next Report we shall probably have to report the result of their labors.

The Old School Assembly of Presbyterians have been tried, during the past year, by the truths on the subject of Slavery, and the countenance given to it by the Church, which the Irish Presbyterians, and even the Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, felt compelled to utter. Its answers in both cases were tart and laconic, virtually telling the Foreign Brethren that they were meddling with what was none of their business, that their arguments were familiar to their minds long ago, and that they continue to believe their own course in this respect to be "strictly conformable to the example and teachings of the Bible, and to have been approved of Heaven" in its effects on Slavery. From the tone of these Epistles we should infer that the Ecclesiastical Connection between Presbyterianism in the Old and the New World would soon come to an end. We trust that it will terminate with a publicity and emphasis that will help to startle into action whatever there may be of latent vitality in American Presbyterianism.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions held its Annual Meeting in Boston, in September. Its action did not belie the account we have given on former occasions of its character and spirit. This great Representative Body of the Congregational Churches of America, has not withdrawn its former endorsement of the Christian character of Slavery; but, on the contrary, it has renewed it. Its action when stripped of the coat of many-colored words in which its spiritual Fathers have decked it, amounts simply to this,—that the Board does not regard the act of holding human beings as property, as essentially sinful, or sufficient cause, in itself, for exclusion from the Christian church. The abuses of the institution, to be sure, it regards with all proper horror, and would have discipline exercised towards them; but the relation of master to slave is not only not necessarily sinful, it is often innocent, and may be beneficent and virtuous. What more do Slavery and Slaveholders ask? Who defends the abuses of Slavery? What can any Slaveholder desire more than the admission that his ownership of his equal brethren is not necessarily a violation of fundamental morality and rudimental Christianity? Grant him these premises, and he will draw logical conclusions enough to answer all his purposes.

What Slaveholders most desire and need is respectability for their system; or, at least, for themselves acting under it. They have the slaves and the wealth, and the personal and political power which the holding of slaves implies under our institutions. But besides these, they want the recognition of their Republican and Christian character. The first of these is conceded by all political parties that act with them in national organizations; and, indeed, by all acting with them under the existing Constitution, in a national character. The last is secured by the baptism bestowed upon Slavery by the great national sects; by the invitation to it to sit at the communion table with them, and even to mount their pulpits and break unto them the Bread of Life. The A. B. C. F. M. is composed of the flower of the chiefest sect of the Free States. Its leading clergymen and most eminent laymen, Governors, Chancellors and Judges, constitute the close corporation in whose hands is lodged all the legislative and executive power, while any friend of Missions, by a pecuniary contribution, may

be constituted an Honorary and Advisory Member. Its Corporate members are one hundred and eighty, and its Honoraries five or six thousand in number. This mere statement sufficiently expresses the weight which the embodied opinion of such an assembly must have upon the public mind when expressed, *pro or con*, upon such a matter as Slavery. Its business is to send the Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth, and to bring all Mankind to the knowledge of Christian truth. It is generally supposed, of course, that its members know what Christian truth is, and what it is that constitutes the Christian character. When it refuses, therefore, to include Slaveholding in the catalogue of *mala in se*, and Slaveholders in the list of transgressors who are to be cast out unless they confess and forsake their sins, they Christianize the one, and fraternize, or "fellowship," with the other. It is all either can reasonably ask.

It is an observable and a significant fact, that for years Slavery has obtruded itself, in spite of all efforts to be rid of it, into the most prominent place at the Annual Meetings of the Board. This year, nearly the whole of the time devoted to the discussion of business, apart from the raising of funds, was consumed by this insatiable intruder. The grisly spectre again took its seat at the head of the Board, and would be seen and heard of all men. The occasion of its apparition was on this wise: The Missionaries to the Cherokees and Choctaws having been accustomed to admit Slaveholders to the Church, and having employed the labor of slaves in their households and boarding-schools, and even having purchased and held slaves, (for their own good, of course,) a stir was made about it several years ago, which has had the effect of making the Annual Meeting a sort of Anti-Slavery Debating Society ever since. As the change in the public mind, wrought by the agitation of the Anti-Slavery Societies, was too great to permit the perfunctory suppression of the element of disturbance, the grand aim has always been to put off the evil day when the Board would have to take decided ground in the premises. Last year positive information was promised at this meeting, as one of the Secretaries was to be sent on an errand of investigation. But though the ambassador was returned, and though the exact state of things was fully developed, the Board was no nearer definite action than before. Besides the Report of Mr. Treat, setting

forth the facts just stated, letters from the Missionaries themselves, giving their sense of the matter, were in the case, as well as the reply of the Prudential Committee.

The letters of the Missionaries were in the true strain of Slaveholding insolence. If they had lived in the parish of J. C. Calhoun, instead of among outlying Indians, these gentlemen could not have vindicated the character of the Peculiar Institution with more unction. Of course they thought it a "grievous wrong," and all that; but they could find no prohibition of it by Christ, and they did find a recognition and regulation of it by the Apostles. Were they to be wise above what was written? They had admitted Slaveholders to the Mission churches, and would again; and if the Board chose ~~to withhold its pecuniary~~ aid, why it might. The churches were Congregational churches, and independent of all external control, and would regulate their own affairs. Still, they hoped the Board would continue its aid, and remember that it was a question of a Slaveholding Gospel, or of no Gospel at all, that was at issue, and decide accordingly. Of course, we only give the substance of the documents, in plain English, divested of cant and circumlocution. The Prudential Committee, in reply, humbly ventured to dissent from the Lord Brethren as to the implied sanction of Christ, and the express recognition of the Apostles, of Slavery. Still, they admitted that a distinction was to be made between Slavery and Slaveholding, pointing out cases in which it was innocent and even laudable to hold slaves, and disclaimed the idea that Slaveholding was a necessary bar to church-membership. It was only a circumstance which should excite enquiry as to the character of the applicant,—a *prima facie* case of sin, which might be rebutted by explanatory evidence. The Committee of the Board, with Mr. Frelinghuysen at its head, to which these reports and letters were referred, reported that, inasmuch as the answer of the Missionaries to the reply was not yet received, all action in the premises should be deferred until the next Annual Meeting! One would have thought that the letters themselves were sufficient evidence of the character and qualifications of the Missionaries, and that the only reply the Board needed to make was the withdrawal of their credentials as its ambassadors. By continuing them in its service, after such an exposition of doctrine and practice, it necessarily ad-

mitted both to be evangelically Christian. It placed itself in the same condemnation with them.

The consideration of this Report was the main business of the last day. The only opposition that was made was by President Blanchard, of a College in Illinois, who proposed resolutions embodying the idea that Slaveryholding was, in the opinion of the Board, inconsistent with the Christian character, and should be a cause of exclusion from the Church; but without proposing any immediate or definite action. These resolutions, after debate, were rejected with scarcely a dissenting voice. But they were afterwards reconsidered, and the fact of their ~~being offered, rejecting them, ordered to be entered on the~~ minutes, chiefly through the influence of the elder Dr. Beecher, who declared that it would be almost fatal to the influence of the Board in the West, should it appear to have rejected resolutions of this character. He did not put it upon the ground that the resolutions were proper to be passed; but that the interests of the Board would suffer, if they should appear to have been summarily rejected. President Blanchard seemed in much the same state of mind, as he expressed his readiness to withdraw them if they were only spread upon the record, so that he should have them to show on his return home. The Rev. Joel Parker, D. D., now of Philadelphia, formerly of New Orleans, and afterwards of the Tabernacle (!), was the only one that came up fairly and handsomely to the defence of Slavery. He condemned the tone of the Secretaries' communication to the Missionaries, as too Anti-Slavery, and maintained (in effect, not literally) that the possession of slaves, far from being *prima facie* evidence of sin, was *prima facie* evidence of holiness. The whole matter was finally passed over to the next Annual Meeting.

One thing was observable, that the low and time-serving ground taken by the Secretaries in their Report, seems to have given entire satisfaction to the dissatisfied parties who originally called for action. The Rev. Mr. Lovejoy, the Editor of the *Emancipator*, expressed his high gratification and entire contentment with a document which contained no condemnation of Slavery as a *malum in se*, but only of its incidental abuses, and refused to declare the robber of his brother's body and soul unfit for the fellowship of the Church of Christ. In this opinion the Rev. Jonathan Curtis, of New Hampshire, concurred. Dr.

Edward Beecher, the famous organizer of guilt out of sin, with an ironical sneer, congratulated these gentlemen for assenting, at this late day, to doctrines which he had been covered with obloquy by them, for proposing in 1845. It would seem, therefore, that peace is at last restored to this Zion, and that henceforth whenever, to use the words of the Special Report of the Prudential Committee, "God is pleased hopefully to renew the hearts of Slaveholding Indians, and, upon giving credible evidence of piety, they are received into the Church," there will be no objection made on the part of their *new-organized* brethren in Christ, to sitting down at the communion-table with them.

But the moral support given by the Board to Slavery, reaches far beyond this petty matter of Slaveholding Indians. Representing a large section of the Religious community, it is the medium through which the sympathies of the evangelically elect flow to the Heathen—to the perishing millions who are daily going down to eternal destruction, for the want of Gospel privileges. But for the Heathen, in their own country, kept Heathen by their own countrymen, who are enabled to do this wickedness through their own political consent and support, they have no pity and no missionaries. The domestic institutions of Ceylon and Hindostan, they are willing to attack. They respect those of their own Gospel-favored land. It is distance that lends enchantment to their view of Heathendom. The diameter of the earth is needed for a conductor of their sympathies. Their regard for the unconverted is great in the geographical ratio of the distances they are removed from them. What conclusion can be drawn from all this but the true one, that Slaveholding is not regarded by this great Body of American Piety, as a relation essentially and morally wrong? That it is regarded as one consistent with "vital piety" and a regenerated estate? And can Slavery desire any fuller recognition? These men either do not perceive that Heathenism in the form of the Sum of all Villanies is a proper object for Christian labor, or, knowing it, refuse to extend a helping hand to their neighbor that has fallen among thieves by their own wayside, because of their own participation in the crime. In either case, they are condemned as unfit to be the Evangelizers of the World. We trust that their increasing debt and crippled means may be a sign that this truth is being more and more fully understood.

THE COUNTRY.

The succession of startling events which have been passing before the gaze of the world on the European continent, is almost enough to make one forget the petty villanies, were it not for their far-reaching issues, of our own land. It is a curious spectacle that the two sides of the Atlantic have presented. In Europe we have seen Nations uprising like Titans, and shaking themselves loose from the mountain-loads of old tyrannies which have crushed them for ages. The crash of thrones, the down-toppling of crowns, the confusion of principalities and powers, all show that the Old things are passing away, and that all things are becoming New. The ideas for which these things have stood have gradually changed, and the signs will soon be seen no more. The substance is altered, and the shadow which it projects must be renewed. The Want is felt, and the Supply will, of necessity, offer itself. The gross, palpable forms of European despotism forced themselves upon the daily life and hourly experience of the Nations, and they will endure them no longer. The power which controlled their destinies and regulated their lives was forever by their side and before their eyes. Its obtrusiveness made it more hateful than even its tyranny.

In America, on the other hand, we are in that by-gone stage of the European mind when the people worshipped the idols to which they were sacrificed. Time was when kings and kaisers, princes and nobles, were sincerely revered as the sources whence the prosperity which the people won for themselves beneficently flowed. Whatever hard-earned wealth, or safety for person or goods, they enjoyed, they gave the glory of it all to their Institutions, and not to themselves. They are now beginning to discern that whatever *modicum* of social or political blessings they had, was in spite, and not because, of the rulers they had set up, or permitted to rule over them. And so "the Divine Right of Kings to govern wrong" began to be questioned, and at last denied and set at defiance. But here we are still in the mood of bowing down before the image we ourselves have set up. Our priests and rulers are trying even to persuade us that it was not us, but God himself, that ordained it. And we are content to purchase such sort of prosperity and security as

we have, by the burnt-offering of every sixth man in the country. Not seeing that our own most precious moral qualities and political rights are consumed as necessary materials in this sacrifice of our brethren. We have not yet, as a people, begun to discover that it is not to our Institutions, our Constitution and our Union, to which we owe whatever good we have ; but that these stand directly between the sun of our highest (and our lowest) prosperity and us. The *prestige* still exists for us. The pervading despotic principle is more skilfully kept out of view. We are allowed the forms of choice, and the name of power, and are permitted to register the edicts of our Sovereign.

We plume ourselves, in this country, on the priority in point of time of our Revolution, and put down all that have followed it as the effects of which ours was the cause. It may, or may not, have hastened those events ; but it could not have created them. They existed and exist because God has made men as they are, and because the artificial surroundings of men must, of necessity, be moulded and directed by the men themselves. And this remodelling and new direction is what we call Revolution. Men are the Body—Institutions are the Raiment. And Revolutions are as inevitable as growth or as caprice. The child must needs put off his childish attire when he grows into a man,—and the man will fain change the fashion of his garments at the prompting of convenience or of whim. The true wisdom is to enlighten and direct the ever-busy minds of men to that which is absurd or mischievous in their present social habits, and persuade them when they change to change for the better.

Whether our Revolution was the example of others or not, other Revolutions may at least take warning by the event of ours. We could not endure the sceptre of King George, or the supremacy of the British Parliament, and having shaken them off, we delivered ourselves up, bound hand and foot, and by bonds of our own weaving, into the hands of the Slaveholding Philistines. We spurned the Aristocracy of English Acres, and then recognized and built up the Aristocracy of American Flesh and Blood. Power resting on the ownership of Land we abhorred. Power based on the ownership of Human Beings we acknowledged and submitted to. And ever since, and now more than ever, we have been in our National character, the

vassals and serfs of that abominable Oligarchy. Whatever degree of safety or success we may have in some of the subordinate divisions of the country, it is in spite, and not because, of the Covenant which has made us one with the tyrants. From the beginning, its uniform tendency has been to endanger the one and to disturb the other; while the deterioration of our national morals, and the degradation of our national character, have followed our guilty consenting as the night the day. A true Republic the world has never yet seen. That problem still remains to be worked out. And our experience may yet show those who are seeking for that Philosopher's (or Politician's) Stone, that it does not consist in the abnegation of Crowns or the privation of Titles; but that all the realities of tyranny can subsist under all the forms of Freedom. The World, with all its material Civilization, is but approaching the point of advancement which is essential to the Advent of such a perfect Polity. Through much more toil and suffering and blood must the Race endure, before it can achieve this long-deferred Hope of the Ages. But the Faith of the best spirits of all Ages, heralded by prophetic human hearts in all time, and sealed with the blood of martyrs ever since the world began, shall yet be justified and crowned with fruition.

THE ABOLITIONISTS.

It has ever been the proud distinction of the Old School Abolitionists, that they have, from the first, taken for their practical maxim — **THE ABSOLUTE RIGHT IS THE HIGHEST EXPEDIENCY.** In this sign have they gone forth, conquering and to conquer. The measure of their success has ever been in proportion to the fidelity with which they have acted up, in their doctrine and their life, to the highest idea of Anti-Slavery duty to which they had attained, at each successive point of their progress, without regard to the promptings of an apparent and superficial Expediency. "Gradual, not Immediate, Emancipation," cried Expediency, "if you would obtain the ear of the people, and hope for their help!" "Immediate Emancipation is the Right of the Slave and the Duty of the Master!" replied Anti-Slavery, "and I will demand nothing less!" And though the land was full of violence, and the people gnashed

upon this truth with their teeth, it finally prevailed, so as now to be almost universally admitted as an axiom in ethics. "Conciliate the Church and the Clergy!" exclaimed Expediency, "or your influence is gone forever!" "Not if they stand hand and hand with Slavery!" answered Anti-Slavery, "let them perish first!" And, though the Clergy and the Church, who had followed after Anti-Slavery, with scarcely an exception, turned and followed after it no more, still its influence even on the Clergy, the Church and religious bodies, increased and multiplied an hundred fold.

And so as to Political Expediency. "Vote, for this time only, for Harrison!" urged Expediency in the Hard Cider Campaign; "vote for the candidate of the North!" "I cannot trust the candidate of the North, whose course and whose pledges are satisfactory to the South," returned Anti-Slavery. "Support Clay, and keep out Texas!" shrieked Expediency in the campaign of 1844, "anybody rather than Polk and Annexation!" "Anybody rather than the fattener of sleek slaves, the impudent defender of Slavery on its merits, the compromiser away of the rights of the North!" responded Anti-Slavery. And Wisdom was justified of her children, in both cases. God said unto Harrison, almost at the very moment he and his partizans were saying unto their souls, "Eat and drink, for thou hast much goods laid up for many years," — "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee!" And he died, and was buried, and John Tyler reigned in his stead! And when the question was raised of resistance to the annexation of Texas, after the accession of Polk, the chiefest supporters of Clay declared that "it was too late!" and that "resistance might be attended with bad results!" Who believes, now, that there was any sincerity in the pretended opposition of Clay and his most prominent partizans to the Annexation? Who would have laughed the credulity of the Abolitionists to scorn more loudly, or at least more heartily, than they, had they succeeded in cajoling them?

Up to about the time of the contest between Clay and Polk, the political action of Abolitionists was governed chiefly by a regard to the relations of the candidates to Slavery, and they opposed them on the ground of the special suit and service they had vowed to it, by their words or by their actions. But about

that time they perceived that the relations of all holders of office to Slavery were, of necessity, if maintained in good faith, those of support and comfort. They discerned that it was of small moment who administered the Constitution of the country, so long as that Constitution makes, in the words of John Quincy Adams, "the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of Slavery, the vital and animating spirit of the National Government." They saw that as Abolitionists they could not execute the Pro-Slavery commands of the Constitution, and as honest men they could not swear to perform them, with the deliberate purpose of breaking their oaths. And what they might not do themselves, they clearly could not appoint others, by their votes, to do for them. The only political action that lay open to them was to labor outside of the Constitution, and not within it, for its overthrow. To convince the people that their form of government was the greatest enemy of their safety, their prosperity, and their honor; that all their material prosperity and local advantages were in spite, not because, of their confederate Union; and to persuade them openly and honestly to repudiate the compromise by which they had delivered themselves up, bound in political servitude, to the tender mercies of their natural enemies, and to erect a new government, free from the disturbing and disgraceful element of Slavery, in which the experiment of self-government could be fairly tried.

Just at this point of time, and when affairs are in this posture, the Free-Soil Party appears and claims the support of the Abolitionists by virtue of its superior Anti-Slavery pretensions. Its pretensions are specious, and, in fact, include about all that a political party, intending to maintain good faith towards the Constitution, should offer. It proposes to forbid the extension of Slavery in the newly-stolen territories, to abolish it wherever the Constitution will permit, and to confine it to its present Constitutional and territorial limits. Time was when the Abolitionists would have been thankful for thus much, and when, for maintaining thus much, they were mobbed and hunted, whipped and shot, a price set upon their heads, their name cast out as evil, and they persecuted unto strange cities. But their long and hard experience has attained "to something of prophetic strain," and they now plainly perceive that what would

have satisfied them in their days of ignorance, falls very far short of what the necessity of the case demands. They can take no part in a movement which contemplates the recognition of the legal relation of master and slave, anywhere within the Universe of God. They spurn and spit upon the doctrine that any compact can be binding which conditions for the return of a fugitive into the hell of Slavery, and for the forcible suppression of an attempt on the part of the Slaves to vindicate their rights by "an Appeal to Arms and the God of Battles." Their sense of personal honor forbids them to swear to support such a Compact, either personally or by proxy, for the purpose of exerting political power, even for the Slave, with the intention of performing it,—much more with the intention of breaking it. They see in all candidates for the Presidency, to whatever party they may belong, on whatever platform they may stand, by whatever name they may be called, aspirants for the office of Protector of the Institutions of the South, of National Overseer of the American Slaves. If Slavery is to be maintained forever by the National strength within the boundaries of the present Union, which must be the contemplation of every honest Constitutional party, we see no reason why it should not spread over any extent of our territory. As to the strength it would add to the Slave Power, we should rejoice in it. If a strong nation is base and mean enough to consent to hold the chain of the Slave while his tyrant is robbing and torturing him, it can have no share in the degradation of its victim that it will not deserve. From this mean, base, cowardly position, the North, as the stronger party, can recover whenever it chooses to arouse itself and shake into the air the cobweb ties by which it has bound itself to dishonor, cruelty, and degradation. To bring it to a just sense of its condition and its remedy, is the high mission of the Abolitionists. May they feel its gravity and its dignity, and abide, faithful though few, and patient though long-tried, the day of its great Accomplishment!

TREASURER'S REPORT

Of Receipts and Disbursements from Jan. 1, 1848, to Jan. 1, 1849.

By Balance of Old Account, January 1, 1848,.....	\$306 58
From Ladies' National Anti-Slavery Fair,.....	3,219 01
“ Legacy of late Henry Chapman,.....	100 00
“ Essex County Anti-Slavery Society,.....	10 00
“ West Brookfield Anti-Slavery Society,.....	50 00
“ Ladies' Second Fair, held at 21 Cornhill,.....	333 37
“ Ladies' Fair at Worcester,.....	768 70
“ Weymouth Female Anti-Slavery Society,.....	100 00
“ Pledges, Donations, and Collections by Agents and others, at Pic-Nics, Conventions, and of Individuals, during the year, as published monthly in the Liberator,.....	3,644 20
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Total Amount of Receipts,	\$8,531 86

The Disbursements have been as follows :

Paid Andrews & Prentiss's Bill for Printing,.....	\$27 60
“ Treasurer of American Anti-Slavery Society, per orders of the Board,.....	4,570 43
“ Office Rent, 21 Cornhill,.....	200 00
“ Expenses of Annual Meeting,.....	61 25
“ Expense of publishing 500 copies of Annual Report,.....	90 00
“ Bill for expenso of Worcester Fair, (omitted,).....	3 25
“ Expense of Fair at 21 Cornhill,.....	33 37
“ “ of New England Convention,.....	76 13
“ Bill of Books for Depository,.....	37 50
“ Expenses of Pic-Nic at Abington,.....	45 20
“ “ of Pic Nic at Lynn,.....	31 15
“ for 50 copies Liberator, sent to Members of Congress, per order of the Board,.....	57 50
“ Expenses of sundry Conventions,.....	67 50
“ “ of Depository, 21 Cornhill,.....	224 17
“ William W. Brown, for Services and Expenses as Agent,.....	515 11
“ Dr. Hudson, for “ “ “ “.....	45 00
“ Adin Ballou, for “ “ “ “.....	40 83
“ John A. Jacobs, for “ “ “ “.....	7 31
“ Stephen S. Foster, for “ “ “ “.....	271 89
“ Samuel May, Jr., for “ “ “ “.....	893 04
“ Parker Pillsbury, for “ “ “ “.....	467 12
“ Lucy Stone, for “ “ “ “.....	245 15
“ Loring Moody, for “ “ “ “.....	213 42
“ N. Brooke, for “ “ Financial Agent,.....	50 14
“ William P. Atkinson, for Expenses to Westminster,.....	3 00

Total Amount of Disbursements,	\$8,217 06
Leaving a Balance in Treasury, Jan. 1, 1849, of	254 80
	<hr/> \$8,531 80

E. E.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, TREASURER.

BOSTON, JAN. 15, 1849.—I have examined the foregoing account, and find it correctly cast and properly vouched. Balance in the Treasurer's hands being two hundred and fifty-four dollars, eighty cents.

EDMUND JACKSON, AUDITOR.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford,	GEORGE HOYT, Athol,
EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham,	JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury,
STILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge,	CAROLINE WESTON, Weymouth,
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton,	ZENAS RHOADES, New Marlboro',
ADIN BALLOU, Milford,	BENJAMIN SNOW, Fitchburg,
JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield,	GEORGE MILES, Westminster,
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton,	JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn,
EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Worcester,	CYRUS PIERCE, Newton,
WILLIAM B. EARLE, Leicester,	JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridgeport,
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield,	THOMAS T. STONE, Salem,
WILLIAM B. STONE, Gardner,	BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth,
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket,	WILLIAM ASHEY, Newburyport,
NATHAN WEBSTER, Haverhill,	JOHN BAILEY, Lynn.
CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston,	

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,	WENDELL PHILLIPS,
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	JOHN ROGERS,
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,	ANNE WARREN WESTON,
HENRY I. BOWDITCH,	ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
JOHN M. SPEAR,	CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,	SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

APPENDIX.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on Wednesday, Jan. 24.

The Chair was taken by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, at eleven o'clock, A. M., who called the meeting to order and gave opportunity for vocal or silent prayer.

Voted, That SAMUEL MAY, Jr., CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, and ELIZA J. KENNY, be Assistant Secretaries during the Annual Meeting.

Voted, On motion of Wendell Phillips, that the President nominate a Business Committee of seven persons.

The following persons were nominated, and accepted by the Society, as that Committee:—

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, EDMUND QUINCY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, ANNE W. WESTON, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, JAMES N. BUFFUM.

The following persons, on motion of S. MAY, Jr., were nominated and chosen a Committee to report a list of Officers of the Society for the year ensuing:—

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., BOURNE SPOONER, OLIVER JOHNSON, JOHN M. FISK, JOHN BAILEY, ARRY K. FOSTER, and EDMUND QUINCY.

Voted, That a Committee of four on the Roll and Finance be nominated by the Chair. The following were nominated and chosen.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, SAMUEL BROOKE, JOSHUA T. EVERETT, LEWIS FORD.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer, presented his Annual Report, duly audited. The Report was accepted, and will be found in another place.

Voted, On motion of WENDELL PHILLIPS, that we now hear the Annual Report of the Board of Managers, or such portions thereof as the Corresponding Secretary shall select.

Mr. QUINCY then read selections from the Report. Notice was given that the Report had been printed and would be ready for delivery to members and others to-morrow.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, from the Committee on Business, reported the following Resolutions:—

1. — *Resolved*, That while we look upon the Free Soil movement as the unavoidable result of our principles and agitation, and hail it, so far as its formation gives proof of the wider spread of a degree of Anti-Slavery feeling in the community, we feel called upon to warn the old friends of our cause, the veterans of so long and fierce a struggle, not to expect too much from the first gropings of a community which as yet sees men but as trees walking—and that we are not to sink the experience of nigh twenty years to suit the views or wait the infant movements of those who have just awaked to our enterprise; that the maintaining of our advanced position is the only security we can have that they will persevere even in their short measure, the only sheet-anchor when this experiment, necessary for their education, has failed, as in its present form it must, the corps of reserve by which alone their broken ranks and disheartened courage are to be succored, and the labors of so many years saved, when this transition period is passed.

2. — *Resolved*, That as the success of the Slave power, in usurping the control of our government, has been owing to its being made the paramount object of a large class in the community, and especially in the Slave States, no effectual resistance can be made to such a conspiracy, but by a party prepared to make resistance to the Slave power the exclusive and paramount object of its existence; and hence we view with alarm and deep regret the course of the Free Soil Party in putting in nomination, in some cases, men who were not prepared to pledge themselves to the support of even their platform of principles, deeming such a course treason to the hopes, and deserving to forfeit the trust, of the Anti-Slavery public.

3. — *Resolved*, That we cannot look upon the Free Soil Party as an Anti-Slavery Party in any proper sense of the term, as no effectual resistance can be made to the Slave-power, except by a party prepared and pledged to trample under foot the compromises of the Constitution; and we look upon any success attending the efforts of the Free Soil movement, as due only to the fear entertained by the South that their candidates will in reality be false to their oaths of office, and ready to make every use covertly of that Anti-Slavery sentiment in the community which far outruns its platform, and has long ago snapped asunder the bonds of the Union.

4. — *Resolved*, That the Church which is in religious fellowship with Slaveholders, or the members of which are in political alliance with Slaveholders,—or which cherishes and exemplifies the spirit of complexional caste,—or which does not make the immediate abolition of

Slavery its special concern, — is not worthy to be recognized as a Church of Christ, has no claim upon human sympathy or respect, and ought to be abandoned by every one as radically defective in Christian principle and character; and whoever continues in willing connexion and conformity with such a Church is to be regarded as an actual supporter of Slavery.

Voted, On motion of OLIVER JOHNSON, to adjourn to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Society met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

The Resolutions reported in the morning were again read; and on motion of S. MAY, Jr., the first three Resolutions relating to the Free Soil Party, were taken up for consideration.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester, objected to the Resolutions that they admitted too much in behalf of the Free Soil Party, and would tend to reconcile the members of that Party to their present position.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, moved that all persons present, whether friendly to this Society and its principles, or not, whether Anti-Slavery or Pro-Slavery, be invited to take part in the discussions of this meeting. Adopted unanimously.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER moved to re-commit the Resolutions on the Free Soil Party, which was seconded.

E. QUINCY opposed the re-commitment.

Leave being granted, the following Resolution was offered and adopted: —

Resolved, That every friend to the Anti-Slavery cause, present at our meeting, be invited to enrol his or her name as a member of this body, and also to give one dollar, or such other sum as is thought proper, towards defraying the expenses of this Annual Meeting.

S. S. FOSTER withdrew his motion to re-commit, and moved to amend the first Resolution by substituting as follows: —

Resolved, That we hail with joy the breaking up of the two great political parties of the country, as conclusive evidence of the progress of Anti-Slavery sentiments, even though their sundered fragments may have been re-united on grounds scarcely less Pro-Slavery than that of the parties from which they have been torn.

LEWIS HAYDEN spoke in opposition to the substitution. The discussion was continued by WENDELL PHILLIPS and ABBY K. FOSTER.

At 5 1-4 o'clock, adjourned to 7 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY—EVENING SESSION.

The Society re-assembled according to adjournment; EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham, in the Chair;—who read the Resolutions before the meeting.

JAMES N. BUFFUM moved to lay the Resolutions on the table, that an opportunity might be afforded to introduce to the audience two recent fugitives from Slavery in Georgia; which motion was carried.

WILLIAM W. BROWN then gave a brief sketch of the interesting and remarkable escape from Slavery of William and Ellen Craft. He read an extract from a New Jersey paper, a correspondent of which had observed this fugitive couple on board of one of the steamboats, and had been struck by something unusual in their appearance. They are quite young; Ellen, the wife, is so nearly white that, by clothing herself in male attire, she was enabled to pass for a white man, while her husband attended her as her servant. In this way they took the principal-travelled route, and came to Philadelphia in four days, where they met with many who rejoiced with them in their hazardous but completely successful undertaking.

The husband was a journeyman cabinet-maker, and by industry and prudence had been able to lay by a sum sufficient to meet the expenses of their flight; this, beside paying \$220 annually to his master, and the cost of his own support. These fugitives whose appearance is such as warmly to prepossess every spectator in their behalf, were then invited to the platform, and introduced to the audience. Mr. Brown said he wished to lay three propositions before the audience, that they might be answered in presence of these fugitives. First, all persons present who would help return a Slave to his bondage, will please to say *yes*. None replied. Second, all who would stand still and do nothing for or against him, will please to say *yes*. None replied.* Third, all who would aid in protecting, rescuing and saving him from Slavery, will say *yes*. An immense and prolonged assent, reminding one of the "everlasting yea," came up from the meeting.

WILLIAM W. BROWN, himself a fugitive, then sang an Anti-Slavery song, which was much applauded.

HENRY C. WRIGHT moved to take up the Resolutions on the Free Soil Party. This was carried; and Mr. W. addressed the meeting in their support, showing the Pro-Slavery character of the Constitution and that the Free Soil Party goes for supporting the Constitution and maintaining the compromises with Slavery. He showed also the inconsistency of those who had just responded so enthusiastically to W. W. Brown's question, that they would protect and rescue the fugitive Slave, while they supported a Constitution which bound them to deliver up the fugitive.

* It was said, on the last evening, that one person had faintly said *yes*, to this statement.

Several gentlemen of the Free Soil Party, who were present, were here called upon to speak; but did not.

The discussion was continued by S. S. FOSTER, W. PHILLIPS, and W. L. GARRISON, the first in support of his amendment, the last two in support of the Resolution.

On motion of H. C. WRIGHT, adjourned to Thursday, 10 o'clock, A. M.

THURSDAY — MORNING SESSION.

Jan. 25. The Society re-assembled in Faneuil Hall, according to adjournment. FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

The Resolutions on the Free Soil movement again came up. Mrs. ABBY K. FOSTER defended the amendment offered by S. S. FOSTER. The subject was further discussed by J. T. EVERETT, Mr. OSGOOD, of Salisbury, (the same who came upon our platform last year to defend the Liberty Party,) WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Watertown, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and S. S. FOSTER.

At 1 o'clock, adjourned to 2½ o'clock.

THURSDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met again in Faneuil Hall, FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

The Committee on the nomination of officers reported, by their Chairman, a list of persons to act as officers of the Society for the ensuing year. Their report was accepted, and the persons therein named were accordingly elected. [This list precedes the Appendix.]

The amendment offered by S. S. FOSTER was rejected. The Resolutions numbered 1, 2, and 3 were then adopted.

Voted, To take up the Resolution on the Church. NARUM OSGOOD spoke in opposition to the Resolution, and in favor of union with the American Church.

JAMES N. BUFFUM replied, and vindicated the soundness and necessity of the Resolution.

HENRY C. WRIGHT spoke on the same side, and declared himself opposed to everything which went for the enslavement of man, whether Governments, or Churches, or Bibles, or the Gods of this Nation.

WENDELL PHILLIPS moved that the Resolution be laid upon the table, to take up the subject of funds for the future operations of the Society. This was carried, and Mr. PHILLIPS addressed the friends of the cause in an earnest speech for aid.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., introduced the following Resolution and spoke briefly in its support:—

Resolved, That in prosecuting the work of the redemption of the Slave, and in our determination to be deterred from that object by no Consti

tutions, or Party Organizations, or Ecclesiastical combinations whatever, we summon all the true friends of freedom and humanity to come to our aid, and sustain, during the year on which we have entered, that great moral movement, which has laid the axe at the root of Slavery's tree, by their most generous contributions and pledges.

The Committee on Finance then and subsequently received pledges, to be paid within the year, amounting to upwards of seven hundred dollars. They also received, in money, donations amounting to about ninety dollars, besides a sum sufficient to defray all expenses of calling and holding the Annual Meeting.

The Resolution on the Church was again taken up, and Mr. GARRISON made an eloquent exposure of the weak idea which had been advanced that we should *go back* "to the old Anti-Slavery ground."

Adjourned to 7 o'clock.

THURSDAY — EVENING SESSION.

Met according to adjournment, when the Chair was taken by JAMES N. BUFFUM, a Vice President.

The Resolution on the Church being before the Society, EDMUND QUINCY spoke in its support.

PARKER PILLSBURY followed in justification of the course of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its friends in boldly exposing and rebuking the faithless and Pro-Slavery course of the American Churches. He spoke of the influence of those Churches as on the wane.

WENDELL PHILLIPS took a different view from Mr. PILLSBURY of the influence of the Churches, and commended the energy, perseverance, and ability with which they labored for the ends they sought. He acknowledged their bigotry, and condemned their course on the subject of Slavery, and would not regard them as Christian Churches; but he said they were enemies not to be thought of lightly, and Abolitionists might learn a useful lesson from them of dauntless and unwearied self-devotion.

Mr. PHILLIPS, before taking his seat, again introduced WILLIAM and ELLEN CRAFT, the Georgia fugitives, to the meeting. They were received with even more hearty and prolonged cheering than on the evening previous.

The case of these fugitives occupied the attention of the meeting the remainder of the evening. JAMES N. BUFFUM, HENRY C. WRIGHT, W. L. GARRISON, and LUCY STONE addressed the audience. Miss STONE spoke in an uncommonly eloquent and touching strain.

At a late hour, adjourned to Friday morning, 10 o'clock.

FRIDAY — MORNING SESSION.

The Society met again in Faneuil Hall; FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

The Resolution on the Church being the subject before the Society, it was spoken to by SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and PARKER PILLSBURY.

Its adoption was moved by S. S. FOSTER.

SEWARD MITCHELL moved to amend the resolution by substituting the following :—

Resolved, That as the American Church has been fully proved to be the bulwark of Slavery, we believe the time has come when it should be destroyed, root and branch, as of no use to the people and a curse to every cause of moral reform.

After remarks by Mr. MITCHELL, and JOHN C. CLUER, the amendment, on motion of EDWIN THOMPSON, was laid on the table.

The question was then taken on the original Resolution (that numbered 4,) and adopted without a dissenting vote.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER introduced the following Resolution, and advocated it at length :—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Society it is expedient to organize a system of measures designed to array its friends at the ballot-boxes, there to vote for men pledged to take no oath to the Constitution of the United States, and to use all their influence to dissolve the Union.

Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock.

FRIDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met according to adjournment, when the Chair was taken by FRANCIS JACKSON.

The Resolution offered in the morning, by S. S. FOSTER, came up, and was supported by W. JENKINS, of Andover, and opposed by W. L. GARRISON.

On motion of E. QUINCY the Resolution was laid on the table.

CHARLES STEARNS offered the following Resolution, and supported it in some very earnest remarks respecting the sufferings of many of the laboring-people of the North :—

Whereas, The rights of the laborer at the North are identified with those of the Southern Slave, and cannot be obtained as long as chattel Slavery rears its hydra-head in our land ; and whereas the same arguments which apply to the situation of the crushed Slave are also in force in reference to the condition of the Northern Laborer, although in a less degree ; Therefore,

Resolved, That it is equally incumbent upon the working men of the North to espouse the cause of the emancipation of the Slave, and upon Abolitionists to advocate the claims of the free laborer.

JOHN C. CLUER attributed the greater part of the sufferings of the Northern laboring people, and especially of the poor Irish, to a too free use of intoxicating drinks. He said he had paid much attention to these

subjects, viz: the rights of the laborer, and temperance, and he spoke with full assurance of the truth of what he said.

Mr. STEARNS'S Resolution was adopted, and the Society adjourned to 7 o'clock.

FRIDAY — EVENING SESSION.

The Society met according to adjournment, in Faneuil Hall; FRANCIS JACKSON, President, in the Chair.

Mr. GARRISON, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions:—

5.—*Resolved*, That the one great object to be attempted and achieved, to secure the emancipation of our enslaved countrymen—to assert and protect the rights of the people of the North—and to impose the awful criminality involved in the Slave system exclusively upon the incorrigible tyrants of the South, is, **THE IMMEDIATE DISSOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN UNION**—a Union based on the prostrate bodies of three millions of the people, and cemented with their blood—a Union which gives absolute power and perfect security to the wholesale traffickers in human flesh, by its combined military and naval power, and the overthrow of which would inevitably burst asunder the chain of every bondman—a Union in which freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition and safe and equal locomotion, are cloven down, and the citizens of one portion of the country are seized for no alleged crime in another portion, hurried to prison, kept in chains, plundered of their property, and in numerous instances sold on the auction block at public vendue as Slaves, in lots to suit purchasers.

6.—*Resolved*, That in openly and unequivocally advocating Slavery as a just, beneficent, and democratic institution, JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, is to be commended for his frankness and directness; that for his earnestness, consistency, intrepidity, and self-sacrifice, in defending and seeking to extend and perpetuate what he thus professes to regard as superlatively excellent, he is equally to be commended; and that he stands in honorable contrast, and is incomparably to be preferred to those Northern time-servers and dough-faces, who professedly look upon Slavery with abhorrence, and yet are found ever ready to compromise the sacred principles of liberty, to betray the rights of the people of the North, and on bended knee to worship the Slave power of the South.

They were supported by W. L. GARRISON, and HENRY C. WRIGHT.

JOHN C. CLUER asked leave (which was granted,) to read to the meeting an account of a Catholic Slave girl in Georgetown, D. C., who was soon to be sold to the South if not redeemed. A man was said to be now in Boston, raising money to purchase her freedom. Mr. C. also asked

leave to take up a collection in the meeting to aid this object; this was agreed to, and the sum of \$17.34 was contributed.

WILLIAM W. BROWN advocated the Resolutions and declared that he could do no less than make war upon a Constitution and Union which made a chattel of him, and utterly refused to acknowledge his right to freedom or to protect him in it. He referred to the two fugitives from Slavery, who had attended some of our previous meetings, and again introduced them to the audience, who received them with enthusiastic greetings. Mr. BROWN again gave a sketch of their method of projecting and executing their bold attempt.

WENDELL PHILLIPS referred eloquently to the case of these interesting fugitives. He said that we should look in vain through the most trying times of our Revolutionary history for an incident of courage and noble daring to equal that of the escape of William and Ellen Craft; and future historians and poets would tell this story as one of the most thrilling in the nation's annals; and millions would read it with admiration of the hero and heroine of the story, and would have wished that *they* could have lived to take part in the glorious struggle of freedom and justice and humanity, against Slavery, fraud and tyranny. Mr. Phillips closed with reading the Petition to the Massachusetts Legislature (now in session,) for a secession from the Union, and called upon all who were not mere hearers, but doers, to come up and sign and circulate this petition.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, then reported the following Resolution:—

7. — *Resolved*, That if, in the earlier days of our Anti-Slavery struggle, the utmost zeal and alacrity were wisely and effectively shown by Abolitionists in circulating petitions for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and for the repeal of all laws in this Commonwealth in derogation of the rights of our colored population, it is incomparably more important, now, that they should manifest at least as much zeal and alacrity in circulating, for popular signature, the petition to the Legislature for the immediate secession of Massachusetts from a Union in which she is held as a vassal, and which serves only to pollute and degrade her.

Voted, That the question be now taken on the three resolutions reported this evening.

The question was then taken on the Resolutions separately, and they were unanimously adopted.

Voted, To adjourn, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., }
C. BRAMHALL, } *Assistant Secretaries*.
ELIZA J. KENNY, }